

VOCATIONAL
AND
OCCUPATIONAL
GUIDANCE

EDWARDS

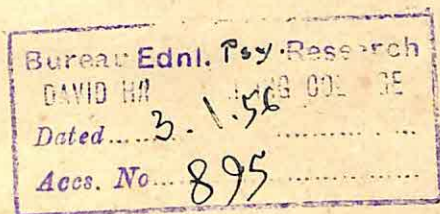
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VOCATIONAL AND OCCUPATIONAL GUIDANCE

BY
REESE EDWARDS



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TO
W. J. WILLIAMS, M.A.,
DIRECTOR OF EDUCATION, CARDIFF,
WHO DIRECTED MY ATTENTION TO THIS
TOPIC AND STIMULATED MY INTEREST
IN THE THEORETICAL AND PRACTICAL ISSUES INVOLVED.

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FOREWORD

VOCATIONAL and occupational guidance are founded on the basic principle that industrial efficiency depends, ultimately, on human efficiency. This was realised twenty years ago:—

“Quite apart from the cash value of strictly technical knowledge, it has proved an industrial discovery of the first magnitude that the personnel of a factory is part of its equipment, and that time and money are well spent in bringing that equipment to a high state of initial perfection, in keeping it properly lubricated, and in saving it from disastrous stress and strain.”*

How can this increased efficiency be achieved? This can best be secured by the application of a policy of guiding individuals into those vocations or occupations most suitable for them. For it has become very evident that:—

“A *laissez-faire* policy no longer serves to draw the right workers to the right jobs, so society must provide the collective intelligence and the co-operative agencies to guide men and women into occupations where they may best serve both themselves and others.”†

Two benefits follow from intelligent occupational guidance. Not only is the general efficiency of the industry increased but furthermore individual and group happiness are both promoted. Such a proposal it will be recognised is in the first place an interesting contribution to sociological thought.

* *Report on Juvenile Education in Relation to Employment after the War*, 1917, p. 19.

† *Vocational Guidance throughout the World*, Keller and Viteles, p. 17.

More important than this, it is a proposal of practical importance. It will certainly receive close attention when it is realised that here is a proposal which could alter the very character of society. The practical operation of vocational guidance administered irrespective of social barriers could modify its entire structure.

There can be no attempted solution to this problem which does not involve consideration of a number of further related topics; many of these are too complex to be analysed fully here, they can only be mentioned in a relatively brief way. It must be realised that:—

“Occupational adjustment is interwoven with political and social philosophies, circumscribed by economics, circumscribed by tradition, and circumvented by politicians. Amid this welter of social forces, individual attributes—personality, culture, intellect, physique, all the characteristics that contribute to the making of morally excellent and dynamically effective human beings—must somehow be adapted to the realities of day to day existence.”*

In the first chapter, the problem is stated and an attempt is made to differentiate between vocational and occupational guidance. This is followed by consideration in turn of the important factors upon which their working depends. In such a short work as this, the principal topics can only be dealt with very briefly and certainly not exhaustively.

* *Vocational Guidance throughout the World*, Keller and Viteles, p. 17.

CHAPTER I.

THE SETTING OF THE PROBLEM

VOCATIONAL and occupational guidance are problems of modern civilisation. They represent remedial measures called forth by the ultra-development of our modern economic and industrial world. They appear principally in the industrial communities of the temperate zones where an intricate division of labour has developed.

The social unit in these areas has paid, it can be argued, a sufficiently heavy penalty for not making a systematic effort to secure the best division of labour within the social group. Vocational and occupational guidance are now put forward as means to this end, as means to secure the best fitting of each person to that employment most appropriate to and commensurate with the individual talents.

This is no new proposal. As far back as 1698, it had been suggested:—

CO“It would be no small advantage to this Kingdom (in
th particular) and the Commonwealth of Learning (in
in general) if this Reformation were attempted, and put in
Practice; for if there were Triers of Wit appointed by
the State, according to our Authors Proposal, to watch
the Genius of children in their first Appearance and
Efforts, whether to make the Scrutiny as the Antients
advised, by leading them to the shops of Mechanics,
and to chuse Trades for them, according to the Tools
they chuse to Play with, or to descend so far as to observe
their Childish Plays and Diversions, wherein the Man
s often presented in Miniature. Thus Vesalius began

in his Childhood to cut up rats and mice, Michael Angelo at the same age to draw Figures and Galen to make Medicines. By these Means there would be fewer Dunces in the Universities, as well as fewer Bunglers in the Shops; not a few upon Enquiry in the Schools and Inns of Court would be sent to take their Degrees in the Trades and Manual Arts; their Bodies being made for Labour, nor their Minds; and their Genius suiting rather with such professions as require more good Shoulders and good Backs than good Heads. Nor upon Examination would there be found fewer in the Shops to fill the Places of many Graduates in the Universities. And thus by this mutual transplantation, in the end, the Universities might be supplied with abler Professors from the Shops, and the Shops again in Return stored with better artists from the Universities. Were this care duly taken to prevent the mis-matching men and Professions, what surer and more effectual Way could be opened, for the advancement of Learning and the Flourishing of Trade at once.”¹

But the world forgot these progressive sentiments and it was not until over two centuries later that any practical attempt was made to carry out this idealism. For, two centuries later, the problem still remained. In a recent speech, the South African Minister of Justice re-echoed this same theme:—

“Men of ability take up the wrong profession. They become discouraged and sink into a state of apathy when if suitably placed their talents might become of immense utility. The reason, I think, is the lack of adequate advice being given to these young men. They do not want a promising young man side tracked in a fruitless occupation.”²

The possibility of guiding young people into occupations for which they are suited has long been a matter of intellectual interest. It is now one to which public attention is, at last, focussed.

hopes it will rapidly become a matter of practical endeavour.

The interest in and attention paid to the problem of occupational guidance has solely been due to the fact that during the last fifty years psychology, the scientific study of behaviour, has abandoned those philosophical dogmas which had proved to be such severe obstacles to progress and has developed rapidly into a science.

This growth has been aided appreciably by the development of statistical methods and by their application to the study of the biological sciences by Quetelet, Bravais, Galton, Pearson and others. Spearman and Godfrey Thomson, in particular, facilitated the development of the technique of measuring individual differences in the early years of this century and from that time, these statistical approaches to the study of psychology have been utilised with considerable degree of success in attacking the numerous problems which had awaited solution in the realms of education and industry.

As psychology grew, it became differentiated for convenience into constituent sub-divisions. One of these is industrial psychology. This has been defined in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* as:—

“A study of the conduct of men and women in their capacity as wage earners. It aims at describing and explaining all those activities by means of which a person adjusts to, or is modified by, his economic environment and hence must include a study of the fundamental elements of man's constitution, his innate tendencies and their expression in thought and action, his acquired aptitudes and their expression both on the conscious and unconscious levels.”³

Research in industrial psychology, including the early work of Munsterberg and the later work of Muscio, Taylor and Gilbreth, has slowly built up a considerable body of information regarding the psychological basis of industry, the effects of fatigue, the advantages of movement and motion study, the rôle of instinct in industry and similar topics. It also includes within its analysis the training and selection of employees and more particularly their recruitment for commerce and industry.

Industrial psychology, it has frequently been pointed out, was evolved during the economic advances of the past two decades, when "modern industry reorganised its pace, adopted mass-production methods and began to exhibit standardisation of its products. The newer industrial system had newer demands. Among other things it demanded more raw materials which were consumed more quickly. It demanded a different labour supply; a labour supply which could undertake a greater diversity of tasks at an increased pace."

It soon became apparent that these new demands were not being completely met. The mechanisation, standardisation and rationalisation of industry did not produce the results expected. The newer system had partially succeeded and yet it had failed. The reason was that in the general introduction of the mechanical aids to production, the importance of the human factor had been overlooked.

Attention became, consequently, focussed upon the conditions of work of people engaged in different pursuits and upon their relative efficiencies. Examination quickly revealed many in posts for which they

were unsuitable. It became more and more apparent at last that mechanical efficiency ultimately depended on human efficiency and that accordingly the general effectiveness of an industrial or commercial concern was finally a function of the efficiency of the employees.

This point of view is concisely summarised by Viteles in the following two passages. In the first he says:—

“Within the past two decades, the scientific study of this industrial civilisation, and more particularly of the problems of industry, has revealed the true importance of the human factor in industrial organisation. Human reactions, of man to man, of man to machine and material—occupy a prominent place in the complex pattern of industrial enterprise. Underlying every industrial process, as mechanised as it may be and often closely associated with it, are human ingenuity and control.”⁴

In the second, he goes on to emphasise the real importance of studying the human factor in industry:—

“Without under-estimating the rôle of the machine and of other factors, industry must be viewed as an immense arena for the play and inter-play of human behaviour. The failure to study the character of this phenomenon, to analyse the conditions which influence the effectiveness of human behaviour in industry, can only result in serious waste in the form of industrial mal-adjustment and of industrial inefficiency.”⁵

This branch of industrial psychology which studies the recruitment of the worker into industry ✓ and commerce has been termed vocational psychology. By this is understood the discovery and measurement, by scientific methods, of those special mental qualities through which a particular individual is adapted for one occupation rather than another.

Hitherto, the recruitment of personnel for commerce and industry has often been haphazard. It had in many cases been left to chance in the hope that each person would eventually, through a process of drift, secure the place for which his abilities made him suitable. Such a self assortment of society is clearly wasteful. It is much more advantageous to guide persons towards those posts for which they are best fitted. This task, fundamentally an economic one, since its aim is to secure a correct division of labour, is approached by means of the processes of vocational and occupational guidance.

In accordance with the law of probability, a certain number of people in the population will, through the operation of chance factors alone, secure work in accordance with their abilities. A large number will not. It is the deliberate aim of vocational and occupational guidance to decrease this latter number and to increase the number of those who do ultimately achieve suitable posts.

In brief, the problem, as is so often stated, is to put the right man in the right place.

The advocates of vocational and occupational guidance state their case in the following way. The human factor in commerce and industry is not as efficient as it might be. This is due to a variety of factors but is principally due to the present unsuitable means of recruiting employees. Employment reveals a relatively high proportion of misfits due to this reason. Misfits are costly to the individual and to the nation, so there is a huge economic loss arising from indiscriminate employment.

Dr. P. D. Innes has indicated this in the following passage:—

“It is impossible to estimate the amount of the waste of money spent on children in the schools which follows from industrial mis-fits or from entry into work that is below the children’s ability or which is uncongenial.”⁶

It is now suggested that the solution of these and similar problems lies in the application of the methods of vocational psychology. The general position is clearly stated in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*:—

“Observation of workers shows that in particular posts some are much more successful both subjectively and objectively than others. Hence arises the question of vocational guidance, which must be distinguished from vocational selection, a simpler problem. The latter problem sets out to select for a given person (usually an adolescent) that job most suited to his capacities. This theoretically presupposes a knowledge of the person, a knowledge of all possible occupations and a power of relating one to the other.”⁷

In addition to the general humanitarian side of this problem, there is a more materialistic aspect. The argument that each person has a moral right to that employment for which he is most fitted is supported by the national benefit to be gained from the application of such a principle.

The temporary or even partial solution of these problems affects not only individual but also communal well-being. Any attempt to minimise what a former Prime Minister, the Rt. Hon. J. Ramsay MacDonald,⁸ termed “The greatest tragedy of our modern life—the tragedy of misfit,” or to curtail excessive drift in employment—a correlated evil—will, in the long run, tend to produce a more contented and stable nation;

and, what is equally important, the satisfaction which would follow would possess a permanent social significance. These benefits are to be gained apart from the scientific value of the experimental procedures by which they are accomplished. So run the arguments in favour of vocational and occupational guidance.

It is sometimes asserted that guidance is such a responsible undertaking and likely to have such serious personal consequences if incorrectly applied that it is dangerous to attempt it in our present state of knowledge; that much more work in this branch of applied psychology is necessary before any guidance schemes can possess a definite and practical value. The reply to this point of view is that the sheer urgency of the problem of the misfit demands the unhesitating application of any solution available in spite of any imperfections which may then exist. For each attempt, however incomplete, provides a setting-off point for a fuller and more complete solution at a later date.

Disregarding such enthusiasm, the sceptic points out that work of really outstanding quality has been accomplished by many who have never received any sort of guidance whatsoever in their choice of employment. Some, far from being in suitable occupations, have been definitely occupational misfits. Such facts are indisputable. In reply, one can merely suggest that whilst good work has been accomplished under such conditions, better work would have resulted had the different people received guidance and been in posts really suited to their talents, the misfits being replaced by those more appropriately qualified. In

this way, other things being equal, a still higher level of achievement would have resulted.

Further, whilst the efficiency of the work undertaken may be high, it probably was not accomplished with that feeling of general satisfaction and individual well-being which should normally be present. It cannot be denied that groups of individuals who were undoubtedly misfits individually have, as a group, temporarily performed excellent work. The success, apparently, has been due to the social integration of the group concerned. The group members for a while had pulled their weight one with another. This of course draws attention to an interesting point. It would follow that individuals must not only be guided into appropriate occupations but also must be placed in social groups in which their talents can be most usefully employed. Occupational adjustment will involve social adjustment. The corollary is that much of the present misfit is due to social misfit. This is probably true.

The field of study known as vocational psychology is that branch of applied psychology which deals with problems related to vocational endeavours. Scott,⁹ 1917, was one of the earliest to recognise that these problems could be conveniently divided into (a) vocational guidance—the guidance of individuals into appropriate callings (the problem of finding the right job for the person) and (b) vocational selection—the selection by an employer of those available for certain posts (the problem of finding the right person for the job). Guidance stresses the need of the person; selection stresses the needs of the industry. More recently, another division has been added,

(c) vocational training—the preparation and provision of adequate training of individuals for specific employments.

These terms are often used loosely and incorrectly and a lack of knowledge of the distinctions between them in this way revealed. They have even been used as interchangeable. B. Muscio¹⁰ gives a summary to illustrate the desirability of vocational guidance when he actually is describing the advantages of vocational selection.

Vocational psychology we can regard, therefore, as that branch of applied psychology dealing with problems concerned with careers in vocations and occupations. ✓ Vocational psychology is really a link between industrial psychology and educational psychology. ✓

The three fields of study are:—

- (1) Vocational selection—essentially an industrial problem.
- (2) Vocational guidance—an educational and industrial topic.
- (3) Vocational training—principally an educational question.

While the topics vocational and occupational selection and training are of interest to the guidance counsellor, they should only be of secondary interest. His main concern should be with guidance although he should duly recognise that guidance, selection and training have many common psychological bases. Their interrelationships cannot be dismissed since certain types of guidance and selection both presuppose some types of training.

The need for a stricter use of terminology has

already been stated. This point may conveniently be pursued further. It would be to general advantage if such terms as vocational guidance, vocational selection and vocational training were more carefully employed.

The loose use of the term "vocational" is noted in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*:—

"The term vocational training should include preparations for the practice of medicine, law and other professions; but it is convenient to restrict it to courses of regular instruction intended to fit boys and girls for commerce, domestic life or some branch of industry."¹¹

Limiting the discussion to guidance, logically vocational guidance means guidance for a vocation, and it would appear very desirable to restrict the use of the term in this way. Hitherto, all guidance has been described loosely and often inaccurately as vocational guidance. To remedy this the following distinction could be advantageously made. Employing a dichotomous classification, guidance work could be differentiated into (a) guidance for vocations, (b) guidance for employments other than vocations. The latter could be called occupational guidance and the use of the term "vocational guidance" restricted to the former. Vocations may be accepted as a distinct class of employment including the professions.* Excluding these, the remaining employments may be called occupations. Comparable distinctions may be drawn between vocational selection and occupational selection and between vocational training and occupational training.

It is very difficult to differentiate between a

* See Appendix.

“vocation” and a “profession” as Carr Saunders recognises.¹²

Characteristics of the professions as given by him are:—

“We have found that the application of an intellectual technique to the ordinary business of life acquired as the result of prolonged and specialised training is the chief characteristic of the professions.”

“That professions can only be said to exist where the practitioners come together in free association. Desire to associate and ability to do are the pre-requisites of professionalism and not only of professionalism but also of any society which is vital and free.”

“Of the many centres of association there is not one which is more compelling than the vocation which a man pursues.”¹³

To these there may be added another characteristic, namely that vocations and professions offer a career, that is a

“professional calling or employment which affords opportunity for progress or social advancement.”

By vocation or profession, therefore, is meant an employment of a distinct kind. It demands in the first place an intelligence of a fairly high level and in the second place a broad education with specialised training superimposed. Most vocations and professions require a university education or alternatively an education up to university standard. Law, medicine and teaching may be quoted as examples. The number of people in the population who follow these distinct employments is relatively small.

The majority of work-people follow occupations which do not require such a high standard of education

or training. Postmen, railway engine-drivers, clerks and shop assistants are in such occupations.

This distinction between vocational guidance and occupational guidance has not previously been made in spite of the fact that the difference is a practical one.* At present all work of advising people as to their employment is loosely termed vocational guidance. Actually only a small proportion is so and the scope of vocational guidance is much smaller. Only an exceedingly small proportion of the school-leaving population each year (approximately 3 per cent. to 4 per cent.) enters vocations and the guidance of entrants into these callings and into those termed occupations present two entirely different problems. An analysis of the posts occupied by school leavers illustrates the point. As may be expected the technique of solution in each case varies. It is even held by some that whilst guidance work may be safely undertaken with entrants to the vocations, selection is as yet the only reliable method of approach when dealing with entrants into occupations. On the basis of the distinction previously suggested, it will be recognised that most of the so-called vocational guidance experiments in London¹⁴ and Birmingham¹⁵ actually represent occupational guidance experiments since they have been concerned with the guidance of entrants into occupations. On the other hand, the work undertaken by the careers masters in the public schools consists in general of vocational guidance. The guidance work undertaken by the National Institute of

* To avoid repetition in this work, the term "vocational guidance" will be used at times and the term "occupational guidance" at other times to represent both processes; so will the term "guidance" alone.

Industrial Psychology is vocational guidance since the fee-paying clients are usually public school and secondary school pupils who have every prospect of entering a vocation or profession.

In the experiments just mentioned, the theoretical creed of guidance has reached practical expression. Costly experiments were undertaken to try to evaluate its social worth.

The aims and principal objects of vocational and occupational guidance have been so generally recognised and approved that it is a matter of some surprise to find that progress in this direction has been, apart from the isolated cases just given, exceedingly slow considering the success of this early work a decade ago.

The objects have been concisely stated by Keller and Viteles:—

“When there is a deliberate attempt to find occupations for all the people and to allocate them to the jobs where they will produce the maximum of happiness to themselves and the greatest good for Society, we have the process of vocational guidance and the desirable outcome—occupational adjustment.”¹⁶

It is a commonplace that successful practical application depends upon a progressive development of the underlying theoretical principles. Yet sufficient work has already been accomplished in this direction by Burt, Muscio, Earle and others to have permitted further advance.

The reason why this has not been achieved is because here exists a tremendously complicated problem. The difficulties which envelop vocational and occupational guidance are multitudinous. The precise requirements, technique and procedure of

vocational and occupational psychology are still matters for discussion and many of the difficulties of this field of study have as yet neither been formulated nor their solution attempted.

No one has so far investigated the social consequences of guidance or to what extent it could be applied practically. Will vocational psychology really achieve all for which its adherents claim? Can vocational and occupational guidance be a success if applied generally? Are they not forlorn ideals?

These questions remain unanswered. The critical analysis of these doctrines and their unbiassed evaluation in the light of their social worth will have to be accomplished before any answers to them can be given.

There is little doubt that the full and unrestricted application of such a system administered irrespective of social barriers would completely re-organise society. Social status would then depend upon the individual abilities and each person would be individually rewarded according to his abilities and talents. This would re-stratify modern society. As De Man puts it:—

“Many a man studies at the University and takes his degree who would be better employed at the plough tail or standing besides Ford’s conveyor; and many a man flutters his wings vainly against the bars of the factory cage, being deprived of social opportunities for the attainment of that leading place to which his talents would entitle him.”¹⁷

It will be readily appreciated that this topic is a most complicated one of extraordinary wide range and character. It does not permit one solution neither

does it allow an universal solution. With these considerations in mind a tentative effort will be made to answer questions such as the following:—
What are the psychological bases of guidance?

What changes would occur in the State were a system of vocational and occupational guidance introduced?

What are the economic limiting factors to such a proposal?

To what extent would the anticipated increase in personal contentment and happiness be realised?

As occupational guidance primarily depends upon the psychological evaluation of the individual, an examination of the psychological basis is fundamental. The success of guidance will naturally be most markedly influenced by economic considerations. Furthermore, as it must be put into operation within a social group it will have many social implications and occupational guidance is now seen not only as a matter of individual psychology but also of social psychology.

The purpose of this survey therefore is to present a critical analysis of the doctrines of vocational and occupational guidance, to examine the consequences in the social group of their application, to estimate their social value and to consider the means whereby some of the essential problems may be solved.

CHAPTER II.

HISTORICAL ACCOUNT

It is difficult to discover who was the first to realise that it was possible through certain tests to ascertain the mental and physical qualities of people and to utilise this knowledge to guide them into suitable employments.

As far back as the sixteenth century, proposals of this character were put forward and it seems likely that this possibility had received the attention of philosophers throughout many centuries. Finally the development of guidance procedures was really interwoven with the estimation of individual differences. These had been *recognised* for over two thousand years. They began to be *measured* only towards the end of the nineteenth century.

One of the earliest advocates of guiding children into callings for which they show a natural talent was Sir Thomas Elyot who in *The Governour*—published in the sixteenth century—observes:—

“How many men there be that having their sons in childhood aptly disposed by nature to paint, carve or engrave, to embroider or do other things but as soon as they espy it, they be therewith displeased and forthwith bind them apprentice to tailors, weavers . . . cobblers, which have been the inestimable loss of many good wits.”¹⁸

John Brinsley in 1612 suggested that only those children who showed promise should receive continued

instruction to enable them to enter the Church. The others were to be set to trades:—

“The children who are to keep to learning . . . are those who, after a good time of trial, shall be found fittest among a man’s children to be applied unto learning, as being the meetest to be offered to God in a special manner, to the public service of the Church of their country; those whom you find the most ingenious and especially whom you perceive to love learning best; which also do witness the same by their painfulness and delight to their books. . . . The rest to be fitted as soon as may be conveniently for trades or some other calling, or to be removed speedily.”¹⁹

During the nineteenth century, F. J. Gall (1757–1828) and J. T. Spurzheim (1776–1832), the founders of phrenology, attempted to estimate individual qualities through detailed examinations of the skull. Among other things occupational advice was given. To-day, phrenology has been shown to lack any scientific basis. Yet it is still possible to meet those who upon a phrenologist’s advice have entered and, as subsequently it turned out, have been extremely successful in the occupation advised.

By the law of chance, if a number of people receive occupational guidance from a phrenologist then a certain fraction will actually receive suitable advice and success under certain conditions will follow. This success it should be noted is not evidence of the reliability of the science of phrenology but of the operation of the law of chance.

The nineteenth century saw a remarkable advance in psychology which previously had always been approached from a philosophical viewpoint. During this century, the work of Fechner (1807–87) who

wrote the first treatise on applied mathematical measurement to psychology and also that of W. Wundt (1832-92), led to a rapid expansion of experimental work in psychology. Individual differences were not only now observed but were also measured.

The earliest methodological attempt to ascertain vocational aptitudes was apparently in the work of Emile Toulouse, who in 1896 and 1910 made an exhaustive psycho-physiological examination of those found to excel in a particular occupation such as Poincaré and Zola. This was undertaken so that the information thus obtained could be used for prognostic purposes.

C. Spearman was early in this field. His work of 1904²⁰ and his brilliant discovery of the possibility of measuring general capacity of intelligence was extended in 1907 when, working with Krueger,²¹ he made a study in vocational guidance measuring the capacity of individuals by means of tests.

The application of psychological method to the problem of vocational guidance was begun in America at this period and most of the work in this field of psychology has been carried out either in America or in England. In America, Parsons was one of the earliest pioneers and he made a noteworthy contribution to vocational psychology with his book *Choosing a Vocation*.²² He also set up a vocational bureau at Boston.

Two years later, F. W. Taylor²³ indicated some of the numerous advantages to be derived from the scientific selection of employees and submitted incontestable proof of the efficiency of his methods.

There is no doubt that his work acted as a direct stimulus not only to vocational selection but also to industrial psychology in general. Whilst it is usual for the modern industrial psychologist to dissociate himself completely from "Taylorism," he should recognise the far reaching stimulus to vocational psychology which this pioneer provided.

That the potentialities of this applied psychology were already recognised at this period is illustrated by the observations of Wolley and Fischer who, in 1914, stated that:—

"At least one good way of testing the usefulness of experimental psychology as a guide in vocational advising is to apply a representative series of psychological tests to a large and fairly homogeneous group of young people, and then find out how much, if any, correlation exists between the outcome of the tests and industrial successes or failures in various directions."²⁴

It was a great pity that their insight was neglected until some ten years later. This was partly due to the war.

From 1914–18, as one would anticipate, little progress was made either in belligerent or non-belligerent countries in vocational psychology. (It can be noted in passing that our knowledge of the functions of the brain was increased through the study of head injuries in the last war. Information obtained in this way regarding the localisation of brain functions did much to disprove the old faculty theory of the brain.)

After the war there was a renewed interest and vocational psychology made rapid strides in America. By 1922, most of the American universities provided

instruction in the principles of vocational psychology. There was formed an American Vocational Guidance Association aimed to co-ordinate the work in America so as to prevent overlapping.

The general position regarding the development of vocational guidance work was given at the Seventh International Congress of Psychologists, July, 1923, when a symposium was arranged to discuss the principles of vocational guidance. It was recognised at this conference: (1) That vocational selection was easier than vocational guidance, but that the latter was the more important of the two; (2) that no vocational programme could be regarded as complete unless it provided opportunity for an estimate of the social, emotional, and temperamental characteristics of the subject; (3) progress would be gained more rapidly were initial studies planned to discover general principles of testing than to demonstrate the diagnostic value of this or that particular test.

When specific enquiry was made during the next year, 1924, concerning the development of guidance in U.S.A., the Director General of the United States Department of Labour replied:—

“There is no uniform and complete system of Vocational Guidance under Federal direction in the United States. The movement known as Vocational Guidance has developed locally and sporadically throughout the country. However, through the Junior Division of the U.S. Employment Service, certain centralised and systematic work is being done which encourages its development and tends to standardise methods.”²⁵

From 1924 onwards, progress in developing the principles of vocational guidance work proceeded apace and was accompanied by a number of investigations

which endeavoured to measure the outcome of guidance work. Edgerton,²⁶ Lincoln²⁷ and Viteles,²⁸ have tried to assess the value of some of the work undertaken in this field. During the follow up of "guided" persons great difficulty* was found in locating people who had received guidance and a loss of 50 per cent. of the group has occurred, no trace being available of half of the original group in one instance.

The present position in U.S.A. is that there is little reference to guidance in Federal legislation and little also in the State legislation. Interest in the work varies from State to State. In the New York State, for example, it is stipulated that every secondary school must have a vocational guidance programme and every city over 100,000 must appoint a director of vocational guidance. In other States practically nothing has been done. In England at the present time, much the same position obtains. After twenty-nine years, some local education authorities have excellent "vocational guidance" provision; others have made practically none at all.

The necessary legislation had been provided in the Education (Choice of Employment) Act, 1910, which covered the provision of advice and assistance to juveniles with regard to the choice of suitable employment. At this period, psychological research in England was concentrated upon the problem of general ability and little was actually done to introduce experimental methods to assist in the choice of occupation. This was because the problem of vocational

* A similar difficulty was found in England during the early investigations.

aptitudes was one about which very little was known.

Additional legislation was provided in the Education Act, 1918 and provision was therein made for head teachers of elementary schools to give advice as to proposed employment. About this time Dr. C. S. Myers of the Psychological Laboratory, Cambridge, decided to form an institute which would provide a suitable approach to the problems of commerce and industry through psychological research and methods. The National Institute of Industrial Psychology was established in 1920 in London and its formation led to the first organised attempt at vocational guidance. An initial aim of the Institute was to study the requirements of various industrial and commercial operations and the elaboration and application of suitable tests so as to secure, in co-operation with industry and commerce, more efficient and scientific selection of workers and in co-operation with the schools more reliable guidance for children when choosing their life's work.

The Industrial Fatigue Research Board (now the Industrial Health Research Board) was also paying attention to the possibilities of guidance and B. Muscio in 1921 surveyed the field for this Board. He pointed out that the work had so far been confined principally to American investigators and other foreign pioneers such as O. Lipmann, and that it consisted of vocational selection rather than vocational guidance.²⁹

The newly-formed London National Institute of Industrial Psychology whilst anxious to undertake a definite experimental research into vocational guidance felt itself provisionally precluded from embarking

unaided on a long and immediately unremunerative research. Eventually, the Industrial Fatigue Research Board resolved in 1922 to co-operate with the National Institute of Industrial Psychology in a joint preliminary investigation, the aim of which was (1) to test the practical value of scientific vocational guidance; (2) if such guidance proved valuable, to discover ways of improving its technique. This joint experiment was carried out in London with a group of 100 children from elementary schools. There was a two-year follow-up of the vocational recommendations, and the results were encouraging.

The following year, through the generosity of the Carnegie United Kingdom Trust, the National Institute of Industrial Psychology undertook a large scale vocational guidance experiment commenced in September, 1924. The aim was:—

- (1) To investigate the value of psychological methods of evaluating abilities as applied to the problem of choosing a career.
- (2) To investigate the general and special abilities (including traits of character) required in different occupations.
- (3) To observe how children vary in their general and special abilities and, by studying each child's progress in the occupation chosen, to determine the extent to which these variations are vocationally significant.
- (4) To consider generally how the procedure for giving advice upon choice of employment may be improved.

The Report of the first investigation in England carried out by F. Gaw, L. Ramsey, M. Smith, and

W. Spielman, under the direction of Dr. C. Burt, was published in 1926. It showed that the possibilities of guidance were very practicable, and the Report concluded:—

“Of all branches of applied science, Vocational Psychology is one of the youngest. . . . But our primary concern has been not with results but with methods and we believe that we have amply demonstrated that such methods are possible and that with the further refinement that renewed research will bring, they will prove of the utmost value to the individual and the community, to the employer and to industry as a whole.”³⁰

Further concrete evidence as to the value of vocational guidance was submitted by the National Institute of Industrial Psychology in 1929 based on two London experiments. They showed that in a group of children who had followed vocational advice a much higher percentage had found greater satisfaction in their posts than those who had not followed such advice. Further, the average number of posts held per person was less in the advised group than in the other group. The Report concluded:—

“Results such as these are most encouraging.”³¹

This work had been carried out with elementary school children. Further Reports from the N.I.I.P. dealt with the measurement of manual dexterities, and tests of mechanical ability.³² In 1930, A. Macrae, on behalf of the National Institute of Industrial Psychology followed up 421 vocationally guided cases among secondary school pupils and showed that over 80 per cent. of these had been successful in their positions.³³ Finally, a full account of the follow-up after four years of the after-careers of 600 children in

the London vocational guidance experiment was given in 1931 by F. M. Earle, who submitted in this Report reliable evidence as to the utility of guidance.³⁴

The Birmingham Local Education Authority has always been a most progressive one as far as choice of employment work has been concerned. Two of its trained investigators, E. P. Allen and P. Smith, carried out at Birmingham a research into the value of vocational tests as aids to choice of employment. The object was to find whether certain tests for estimating particular aptitudes and qualities required in industry could be put to practical use in advising boys and girls in their choice of careers.

After testing a follow-up two years later, their results showed that:—

“Tested children in accordance posts are more satisfactorily placed than those in any of the other three groups.”

They suggested that:—

“In view of the results obtained both in London and Birmingham, consideration must now be given to the practicability of using vocational testing as an aid to the Juvenile Employment Officer.”³⁵

In 1937, the result of an investigation into vocational guidance carried out at Borstal by Alec Rodger of the National Institute of Industrial Psychology was published. Part of the Borstal training consists of following an occupation selected by the youths themselves or by their housemasters. In the experiment, a group of 400 boys were examined and vocational recommendations were made to one-half of the group. A control group was formed of the other half and recommendations were withheld from

these. It was found that 69.5 per cent. of the vocational adviser's recommendations were successful compared with 45.6 per cent. of the control group.³⁶

Apart from the United States of America and British Isles, investigations into vocational guidance have been carried on in several other countries. Interest though has been mainly theoretical and the technique of guidance rather than its application has received most attention.

The Scandinavian countries—Denmark, Norway, and Sweden are not densely populated although some interest in guidance is found; progress in Sweden being behind the other two. Belgium has been progressive as would be expected from its dense population, extensive industrialisation and its technical education.

In Germany, guidance schemes have been included as part of the national services. "Complete control of all placement of adults and apprentices and of all vocational guidance activities within the Reich being centralised."

France is relatively backward, interest in the problem being principally academic. Commercial Holland is also backward. In U.S.S.R., it is "impossible to speak of vocational education or trade-training apart from general education." Industrial Switzerland is active as it has been found from practical necessity that guidance is essential.

Surveying the present position, greatest advance has taken place in the industrialised communities of the world, e.g., U.S.A., Great Britain, Belgium, and least advance has been in agricultural countries such as Sweden and Holland.

So much for the historical account of vocational guidance. It is now necessary to discuss the major issues involved therein.

The first deals with the problem of personal adjustment. To what extent should choice of career be allowed? To what extent will guidance produce happiness in the community? Should the rights of the individual be considered before the welfare of the social group? All these points will now come under consideration.

CHAPTER III.

THE KEY TO PERSONAL ADJUSTMENT

It is a foremost aim of vocational and occupational guidance to promote individual and group contentment. Happiness has been adopted as a criterion of the success of guidance experiments. It has been shown that guidance as a procedure has furthered individual well-being and the claim has naturally followed that the wider introduction of guidance would increase personal happiness.

No one could deny that there are at present many thousands of people in irksome and unsuitable employments and that they, in consequence, are unhappy. But it must not be thought that the introduction of occupational guidance would produce universal happiness. Freedom of choice of employment, even if it were practicable, might produce individual happiness in many cases but it might not further group happiness.

This is the ultimate question. Shall occupational procedures be adopted to further the individual welfare or shall they be modified to promote the welfare of the social group as a whole?

Happiness is universally sought and demanded. Those members of the social group who achieve happiness are envied by all those who do not.

What is happiness? According to Professor J. W. Scott:—

"Happiness is the adequate and satisfactory exercise of function by a set of human beings living with one another."³⁷

Whilst Urwick says:—

"From this point of view, I may be regarded as completely happy if there is no trace of disharmony within my own mind. And the happiness of a social group might similarly be regarded as a harmony of function and feeling within the group."³⁸

He then goes on to analyse the elements necessary to personal happiness which he considers are:—

- "(1) Work—if possible congenial work, but in any case, work.
- (2) Strong interests and opportunity to develop such interests.
- (3) The companionship of people whom we like and who also like us; and therefore constant reciprocity of service.
- (4) An ideal to live for, in ourselves, if not outside also.
- (5) Immunity from severe physical hindrances as well as from too great care or anxiety."

Very simply, the kind of happiness the ordinary man wants is described in the following quotation:—

"My experience is that the ordinary man—after youth—interprets it as a settled permanent job, at some progressive wage, which will give him a feeling of security, enabling him to live at the same standard as his fellow workers. (This means that if other wages go up, he expects his to rise; conversely, if other wages go down, he, the average man, sees the reasonableness of his own dropping.) At all costs, he must have a surplus for the ordinary pleasures, tobacco, beer, cinema, etc., and sufficient leisure for his hobby of gardening. He does not want a cultural life, he wants security and some fun."³⁹

Happiness would prevail, it would appear,

- (1) if the employment were congenial, (2) if the remuneration were adequate, (3) if leisure time were sufficient and leisure pursuits available.

There is it will be recognised an economic background to the problem—which also has a social setting. Individual happiness is relative for it cannot be considered as an isolated phenomenon. It appears in and depends upon the social group.

The argument for individual freedom of action in the community is concisely stated by Laski.

According to him, happiness is a state of social well-being only achieved by the granting to members of the social group specific benefits which he terms “rights” :—

“In a Society like our own, the normal citizen cannot expect happiness without personal security. He must have the right of living, and this means the recognition of either the right to work or, in its absence, of a decent maintenance by Society. But the right to work, barely stated, does not meet the wants of civilised living. It must mean, therefore, the right to work at a reasonable wage and for such hours of labour as enable him to attain significance for himself beyond the getting of his livelihood.”⁴⁰

Further rights given by Laski are the right to leisure, the right to education. To these rights could, possibly, in the light of this particular exposition be added two more—firstly, the right of an individual to the choice of a career and secondly the right to occupational guidance, namely the right of a person to be guided into that post in the state and society to which his talents naturally fit him.*

This is a reasonable enough demand if choice of career and occupational guidance are likely to produce happiness. It is reasonable enough because it is

* Differentiation is made between the choice of a career and occupational guidance as these processes are by no means synonymous.

generally agreed that the State should maintain whatever rules it considers necessary, not for the sake of rules which are essential in every State, but to secure the most beneficial effect for the majority. Each member of the State is striving and hoping to be happy. Each hopes for the conditions without which happiness seems unreachable and each estimates the worth of the State by its ability to secure those for him. If therefore choice of career or occupational guidance can increase happiness then they should be introduced.

Do these newly-suggested rights conflict with the established axiom that all men are born equal in society and all must be treated equally? No, they do not; for it is still accepted that, as citizens, all are equal in society and should have equal citizen rights. But it is also becoming increasingly obvious that all men are far from being equal psychologically. Because they differ psychologically, they should all be given an equal opportunity of developing their differing talents. No objection should be raised if, subsequently, some do better than others from equal opportunities, provided that these opportunities are properly available equally to all.

If, then, this happiness can be achieved only through personal freedom of choice of a career, this should be introduced if happiness is universally desired. This would fall into line with the theory of individual freedom in life expounded by Bentham, among others.

Bentham held that, since men were by nature selfish they could be well left to look after their own interests. As they knew better than anyone else what

they wanted and would pursue it accordingly, there was absolutely no need for outside interference in dealings between men and men. All that was needed was freedom in the conduct of their own affairs. This produced happiness. One assumes that freedom in the conduct of the personal life would include freedom in the choice of and pursuit of an employment. Unfortunately for this theory, so few people have freedom in the conduct of their own affairs.

Many writers claim that individual happiness is achieved when perfect freedom in the choice of a career is allowed. Then, not only is happiness secured, but, furthermore, material success comes by allowing people to do the things they wish to do. The ruling principle is "when one does what one wants to do, one does it thoroughly well." Earle expresses this viewpoint when he says:—

"Apart altogether from monetary considerations, there is real satisfaction to be enjoyed in doing a job well, and this creates in most people a sense of power and of well being, which contributes very materially to their happiness. This in turn increases their efficiency and so in the long run may lead to promotion and a higher class of wages."⁴¹

Here we have a modern presentation of Bentham's individualism.

On a purely hedonistic basis, therefore, the test of a successful career would be happiness, and it would be claimed that it is socially desirable that happiness should be obtained by as many as possible. A career, then, would be a failure which did not bring happiness; for people who are successful are happy in their careers. "It is desirable to find the most suitable

occupation, since only in it can the individual win complete happiness."⁴²

The argument continues. If individual choice of occupation were universally introduced, the resultant increased satisfaction would stimulate the physical and mental energies of the different members of society and encourage them to attain new levels of achievement and success. Latent ambitions, desires and energies would be stirred into further action. Under this new motivation, the individuals of the community who chose their careers would reveal newer individual capabilities. The general desire to be of service to the community would also be strengthened and the social group thus made more progressive.

The principal supporting reason is that as modern society requires the individual to contribute his services to society, and as the individual has to apply himself quite thoroughly to his task, it would clearly be better for all concerned were perfect freedom of choice allowed regarding the nature of social service the individual wished to make. If permitted to select his occupation, the person would then, other things being equal, work far more enthusiastically and to better effect.

Perfect freedom of the choice of career is, therefore, said to be an ideal. It assumes, and this assumption is a serious fallacy, that each has the capacity for wisdom of choice. Freedom of choice represents, superficially, an attractive proposal. It is we realise universally impossible. Apart from this, it seems improbable that universal happiness would result from such a proposal.

There are many reasons why choice of career is universally impossible. In our present society, there are many duties which have to be performed daily, yet which are decidedly disagreeable, dangerous and unhealthy. No rational person would select voluntarily these occupations. Someone has to undertake these tasks. Those we find engaged in them have usually been driven there by force of necessity. Economic necessity obliterates whatever was the original choice of employment. It is occasionally advanced that it should be possible in a community organised on the principle of social service, that is, when individuals work for the benefit of the social group rather than for their own individual benefit, to diminish the amount of dirty and unpleasant work which has to be done.

Kropotkin has said regarding this point:—

“If there is still work which is disagreeable in itself, it is only because our scientific men have never cared to consider the means of rendering it less so; they have always known that there were plenty of starving men who would do it for a few pence a day.”⁴³

This is a half-truth. It may be that scientific studies can to some extent diminish the unpleasant work in the world but it seems unlikely that they can completely abolish all of this.

On the other hand, there are several callings which are so attractive on account of their special remuneration or for other reasons, that the numbers desiring them greatly exceed the number of posts available apart from any question of the fitness of the persons for these particular posts. When this happens, the original choice is bound to be obliterated for some.

Personal fitness must always be considered. In some cases the choice of employment will be suitable; in other cases, totally unsuitable. Or again the initial choice may be quite suitable, but owing to some variation of the individual efficiency become quite unsuitable later. For other posts the person has selected, the person may be at first quite unfitted. Additional knowledge and experience may soon remedy this state of affairs. Above all, the person should not become discouraged if the first choice is not fulfilled straight away. The social demands may alter and the original choice of employment then fulfilled at later date. Too early or too fixed occupational choice should not be made. For as everyone knows, occupational desires alter from time to time.

There is a further difficulty. It is always difficult to determine to what extent the occupational choice really represents the person's own wishes and to what extent it has been influenced by other people and by other circumstances. The general level of society in which the person lives, his early training, home conditions, social and family traditions, all modify and tend to affect the individual choice of employment. Social influences are frequently very prominent here.

If individuals were left to choose their own employment then it is possible that many important types of social work would not attract sufficient workers. In most countries, there is at present a need for social work. This must be deliberately planned and adequate for it is really a national obligation.

It arises because a large number of individuals in the social group are not competent to provide for their own welfare. Others are sufficiently well equipped

to look after others in addition to themselves. To produce a contented social group it is necessary to investigate group conditions and then to make whatever provisions appear necessary to produce general contentment and this may involve the disregarding of individuals' wishes in the choice of a career.

It will thus be seen that the basic assumption of the doctrine of freedom in the choice of a career, a choice which is supposed to be followed by happiness, is that the individual can create and control his own happiness. In previous times he used to do so. In the modern organised social group he certainly does not. His happiness is here largely in the control of others. The social unit can impose discipline on him, make him observe prescribed social traditions and make him decidedly unhappy.

Maximum happiness may not follow perfect freedom in the choice of career.

Some can achieve contentment and satisfaction of a certain order in spite of occupational misfit. Some may be in careers for which they are eminently suited and yet be miserable and unhappy. Even were freedom of choice assured, it could never ensure continued contentment for all. All those individuals who are well adjusted occupationally cannot help being discontented at times. It must also be remembered that when maximum happiness is reached it is not maintained by mere passivity but by continuous personal adjustment to the changing conditions of the industrial or commercial world.

It follows that choice of occupation cannot solve the problem of the individual career once and for all; it can only suggest an initial starting point and this

may not be the best starting point for the individual concerned. It is true that actual choice of employment may give pleasure—for choosing is a process which is psychologically pleasant. But when progress is attempted in the selected employment happiness may be short-lived. Social and economic factors intervene. Competition occurs. Strenuous personal efforts are required and continuous demands on the intellect of the person appear. The strain this may engender can make the individual most unhappy though the person concerned may actually be following the selected occupation.

It has just been pointed out that personal contentment is rarely continuous; it is usually a temporary not a permanent feature of the individual life.

Few achieve the state of psychological equilibrium which underlies personal contentment in exactly the same way and further the amount of pleasure derived from the established equilibrium also differs. This is because of the varying sensibilities of different persons. The capacity for realising when one has reached personal equilibrium and its attendant happiness also varies.

In general, therefore, it is impossible to develop happiness by any all-embracing system or programme for all. No individual can make the determination for anyone else; nor can he make it for himself once and for ever. We live in a moving world and move with it. No one knows what the future will hold.

As Weir has pointed out:—

“Active life is made up of ceaseless struggle for subsistence and advantage and also of obedience to influences which are superior to struggle and even prejudicial to vigour of competition.”⁴⁴

Could we not say with him that only too frequently in this world, happiness of many is subject "to influences which are superior to struggle" and also beyond our control.

Proceeding with the analysis of individual happiness, the position is complicated by the fact that man's mind has a dual character. The researches of Freud have shown the importance of the sub-conscious mind in the individual mental life. Those who appear to the external world as unhappy may be repressing in their sub-conscious the happy side of their nature. The problem is to try to ensure that all have the opportunity to permit the happier elements to come to the surface and remain there.

So much for the doctrine of allowing perfect freedom in the choice of a career. The case for freedom of the individual has been considered. The difficulties of this suggestion are so great that they seem insuperable.

It will be remembered that Mill used to evaluate every political question in terms of the happiness or unhappiness of human beings. He considered that happiness could best be promoted by interfering as little as possible in personal affairs of individuals. Freedom of conduct Mill called "one of the principal ingredients of human happiness, and quite the chief ingredient of individual and social progress." Mill claimed complete freedom of conduct for the individual in all matters not affecting the community. In matters which do affect the community, the latter has a right to correct the individual if his conduct is prejudicial to its welfare.

This is an interesting point and it will be advisable

to note the implication. The individual could have freedom in the choice of a career except where this would affect the community. In these circumstances, were the choice to affect the community then the community should have the ruling word as to whether this should be allowed or not. This is a freedom subject to restraint.

This altered creed has received support as social groups have rapidly discovered that a policy of "every man for himself and the devil take the hindmost" has caused undue disregard of social standards and a discontented social group produced through friction.

Pursuing this suggestion that the individual desire should be modified by the social group if the welfare of the social group is to be in any way affected we see as the extremist viewpoint that the individual occupational desire should be secondary to the group needs. According to this, the social group has the right to demand from the individual such services as he rather than anyone else is best able to give at that particular time.

At times also it would be essential for the individual occupational endeavours to be governed not by the individual wish but by the group demand. This may preclude happiness for some individuals and may entail a certain degree of occupational maladjustment but this would be inevitable. The only defence to this procedure is to say that it is best in the group interest.

If the group demand came first, individuals would be placed into such positions in society not perhaps those they themselves would wish but in

which the social group would consider them to be by virtue of natural talent best suited. Let us say at once that this is a defensible process which has a sound psychological basis.

The individual is to achieve a post commensurate with his abilities. This is a good suggestion. To allow individuals perfect freedom of choice is not.

In both cases, the ultimate aim is to stimulate the individual well-being and group happiness. This will often be better achieved by placing individuals with reference to their capacities and not merely by agreeing to their wishes. In some cases limitation of the individual's wish will be inevitable.

Urwick points this out:—

"But the hardship of limitation is not, I think, chiefly the hardship of being compelled to take uncongenial work. There are times when most of us dislike our work very heartily and would change it if we could. This is inevitable: perhaps not one in ten thousand people has either the temperament or the capacity to be an Edison. But even if your work seems often to be an uncongenial task which we do daily because we must, it nevertheless serves its purpose as a condition of happiness. The task to be done gives the first significance to our life and we know it. The task to be done is the justification of our citizenship; and we know it."⁴⁵

Both procedures, when the individual is allowed perfect freedom of choice and also where the group welfare is to be considered first and foremost, seek to promote joy in work. Yet one can put forward the view that true joy in work is really impossible when one pursues an individual motive and indulges in self-expression. True joy in work, the real joy in work, can only be achieved when one casts aside individual

motives and considers the common welfare—when one works unrestrainedly in the common good.

Urwick illustrates this contention:—

“But the true harmony, both for society and for the individual soul, is *not* a harmony of satisfied impulses, but a harmony of conscious purposes; and this is not only compatible with, but probably dependent upon, constant denial of self-seeking, continual suppression of impulses, unending discipline of *desire*. The *end* for both is doubtless a harmony which no pain or negation will remain; but the end cannot be attained until both individual and society have become common good.”⁴⁶

It is impossible to get away from the individual's social background.

In pursuing the individual career, the person wishes to be happy and healthy, free from undue mental strain, in happy relation with his family and the social group in which he lives with his needs generally well satisfied. The happy person leads a balanced existence, an integrated existence. Balanced when his personal desires are controlled and subdued, integrated when he fits into his *social* environment.

Urwick indicates how the individual happiness depends upon social relationships:—

“First, the feeling on the part of the citizen of his oneness with all his good neighbours, and a belief that goodness is universal; secondly, the knowledge that his relations with his neighbours are really based upon goodwill and mutual understanding; thirdly, the farther that his own activities are in line with theirs, and tend to a common good; and fourthly, the certainty that his purposes are in line with the general welfare.”⁴⁷

The general argument is that occupational guidance based on fitness is a praiseworthy doctrine which has a psychological basis. Its introduction

would undoubtedly be beneficial to the social group, especially if introduced in an unrestrained form which disregards social barriers. It would assuredly produce much social contentment and possibly much happiness for some but it must not be forgotten that it would be bitterly opposed by others. It is impossible to dogmatise on the likelihood of occupational guidance being followed by contentment. Extravagant claims on this point are often made but happiness is so complicated and affected by so many factors that it is necessary to reiterate that guidance is dependent especially on certain social and economic factors for any success it may produce.

It is clear that if individuals are guided into posts for which they are by nature best equipped, in many cases there is bound to be a direct interference with the personal liberty. The State cannot we must conclude ensure happiness for all if it is to guide occupationally upon a basis of talents and fitness in the social group. This is inevitable.

There is a further question. We can distinguish in society those who are (1) socially dependent and (2) those who are socially independent. The former group must be considered. Each member of society cannot pursue an individual motive to the bitter end.

A policy of occupational guidance on a fitness basis may involve the individual career being sacrificed in numerous cases in deference to the group welfare. In these circumstances, who shall be the unfortunate? If individuals have to make sacrifices for the social group, who shall do so?

Since all have equal status as members of society on this basis alone no section of the community has a

prior claim to personal equilibrium. But the capacity for achieving contentment and of appreciating it when achieved are as already pointed out differentiated in the social group.

The more intelligent are better equipped both to acquire and to appreciate happiness. The less fortunate have greater chance of drifting into a state of unhappiness but also it should be realised less capacity for realising this in many instances.

Shall the intelligent or the unintelligent be asked to sacrifice personal happiness in occupational pursuit for the group welfare? The question is difficult yet the issue is quite clear. If any sacrifice is necessary then members of the community must be called upon to serve the group welfare in proportion to their individual capacity to bear the sacrifice. The position may be summarised as follows:—

In an ideal State, each would have freedom in the choice and pursuit of an occupation and throughout each life the occupation would alter according to the developing abilities and interests. Individuals would follow pursuits which produced maximum satisfaction for them and personal restraint would be at a minimum. This would happen in an ideal State.

In a modern State, for many reasons outlined in the previous pages, these conditions could not exist. There is, we all know:—

“Some choice even to-day; but it is limited for us all. It might and should be far wider; it is safe to assert that progress in industrial organisation will not be progressive unless it opens a wider choice for all.”⁴⁸

This sentiment would be readily accepted by most people. Yet unrestrained individualism in personal

conduct would lead to a chaotic organisation. All cannot, for example, as far as their occupations are concerned follow their personal wishes. What actually happens in the modern State is that many try to do so but that the occupations exert a selective effect and only those with appropriate abilities find themselves remaining in their chosen employment. Those who do so achieve contentment: those who do not often become unhappy.

From this, it will readily be recognised that the aim of occupational guidance as far as the problem of personal adjustment is concerned is to endeavour to minimise the unhappiness which follows from unsuitable employment. To this end the individual must be prepared to be guided notwithstanding his own ideas of how he can obtain happiness in his employment.

The problem of individual adjustment is so extensive and complicated that universal solution is impossible. Would perfect freedom of choice of career increase personal contentment? Temporarily, yes; but not in the long run. Would occupational guidance on a basis of occupational fitness improve personal satisfaction? It is considered that this seems most likely provided that certain social standards are in existence before and continuous with its introduction.

The principal conclusion to be drawn from this survey of the problem of personal adjustment is that individual freedom for all in the choice of career is not a feasible proposal and could not be entertained in a modern social community. The alternative is to provide for guidance upon a basis of occupational fitness. This is an eminently sound suggestion and one which should be followed.

The aim of guidance is to improve the contentedness of as many members of the social group as possible.

It is argued that this would more likely result from guidance upon a basis of fitness than from the exercise of freedom in choice of a career.

This chapter has dealt with the relation of the individual to the social group. We now come to the study of the individual alone—the psychological problem.

CHAPTER IV.

THE PSYCHOLOGICAL PROBLEM

As vocational and occupational guidance are essentially individual procedures, the study of the individual abilities is naturally an essential preliminary to guidance.

The psychological problem of occupational guidance really *arises through* the varied distribution of ability in the population. It is *concerned with* the individual's general instinctive and emotional equipment, his temperament, character, interests and abilities. Sensible people seek an occupation in which those talents they possess will be most frequently employed and in which those qualities they do not possess will not be constantly required. They desire an employment in which their services will be in their opinion adequately remunerated and which they can perform with some degree of personal satisfaction and contentment, generally without too great mental and physical strain.

The psychologist is endeavouring to assist in the complicated processes of fitting people into their economic, industrial and business environments. The individual talents thus become objects of study and the basis for guidance. So far as the psychologist is concerned the individual must be provided with psychological information which will be of assistance to him when seeking an appropriate post. The application of the most elementary psychological procedures to this problem of finding suitable employment for

people will it is claimed have results immeasurably superior to those produced by trial and error methods. The psychologist must then seek to gain an adequate knowledge of the individual's native mental and physical equipment, his aptitudes and abilities and the extent to which his personal qualities differ from those of others.

In commerce and industry different combinations of personal qualities are demanded by different posts. There should therefore be available information regarding the psychological qualities called for in different types of occupations. It must also be remembered that the individual in addition to being a good worker must be a loyal member of a social group and a good citizen. His social qualities must not be overlooked. With the aid of the information supplied by the psychologist, the individual can then try to secure a post in which the qualities he possesses match those required and in which other things being equal he may be expected to be more successful than in any other.

To what extent with modern psychological methods can this fitting of men and occupations be achieved? Is a simple technique of assessing mental qualities available or likely to be available in the near future? Any attempt to answer these questions involves a consideration of which qualities are involved. It is not proposed, on account of space, to deal with all of them. Attention will be given principally to the parts played by intelligence, temperament and interests.

The first to be considered are the individual drives which affect daily existence—the instincts.

Underlying the desire for employment is the necessity for survival. The basic and instinctive demands for food and shelter are continuous forces in the struggle for existence. In this, other things being equal, the principle of the survival of the fittest tends to operate now, as in earlier times. In the nomadic, pastoral and agrarian communities of former days, the division of labour had a simple straightforward basis. The criterion was the strength of the individual abilities and personal characteristics. Individuals principally followed callings for which they were suited instinctively. They became hunters, fighters or primitive craftsmen according as their constructive or pugnacious tendencies were strongly developed. To-day as everyone knows, the division of labour in our business civilisation is a far more complex matter, yet instinct still plays a significant part in success. The importance played by instincts in daily life tends to be overlooked in view of the far more prominent and easily recognisable parts played by general and special abilities, interests, temperament, character and will.

Many industrial leaders are, for example, those with strongly developed pugnacious instincts which have enabled them to become more than usually prominent. The division of labour to-day still may be based on the individual's instinctive equipment. The stage, the bar, the boxing-ring, the army, all offer outlets for instinctive appetites which are highly developed and which attract those who are better equipped than their fellows in some particular way. There are various drives which arise from the desire to satisfy the basic instinctive needs. To secure a

proper occupational and personal equilibrium all these personal drives must be harnessed, directed and controlled. For occupational success may depend upon the manner in which they are utilised.

Guidance should, therefore, take notice of the different instinctive mechanisms and, if at all possible, provide for different personality types. So far it has not been sufficiently recognised that there is still a vital need to estimate relatively the instinctive energies. It is, of course, a very difficult thing to do this. Few exact experimental methods of assessing individual instincts exist.

The importance played by the individual instincts in daily life is almost completely overshadowed, as has already been pointed out, by the more obvious part played in occupational success by general ability, "special" abilities, interests, temperament, character, and will.

All these play a very large part in any occupational endeavour but of them all the part played by intelligence is perhaps the most obvious.

Intelligence enters into almost everything we do and thus determines our efficiency in occupational pursuits as well as in others. Such an important quality is clearly essential for occupational success. Many have pointed out that the degree of intelligence which a person displays debars him from success in certain higher occupations which demand far more intelligence than he has and at the same time makes it rather foolish for him, other things being equal, to seek any lower occupations which could be carried out by others less intelligent than himself. In most occupations, the argument runs, an employee will fail

unless he is up to a certain standard. His talents will be wasted if they are only partly absorbed by the duties of his post. One of the effects of this latter situation is given in the L.C.C. Report on juvenile delinquency:—

“The boy who has left school and appears in the Juvenile Court is often in employment of a type which is considerably below his mental capacity. Delinquency is not as a rule found among boys who have settled occupations under good conditions and with reasonable prospects of advancement. It is to be seen more among boys who are in unskilled employment such as the errand boy, the van boy, the messenger boy, etc.

“The problem of boys and girls and of many adults being required to do work which is inferior to their mental capacities is one which it is difficult to solve.”⁴⁹

As one would expect, considerable attention has been paid in the past to the estimation of intelligence as a preliminary essential of occupational guidance. This has been due principally to the fact that the technique of the estimation of intelligence was fairly well established. Occasional attempts have been made to make intelligence the sole basis for guidance. The futility of this is now fairly widely recognised and more attention is being paid to the part played by affective and conative factors in occupational success.

Intelligence may be defined in many ways. It has been described as “the capacity to acquire capacity,” as “the ability to see and learn the truth,” or as “the general capacity of an organism to adjust itself adequately to new requirements.” Earle writes:—

“Intellects may be distinguished by their capacity to function at different levels, by the number of tasks they can perform at any given level and by the speed at which the tasks are performed.”⁵⁰

Intelligence may also be defined as "the apprehension of experience accompanied by the eduction of relations and correlates" or as "the capacity of variability of response," or as "the psychological function of apprehending differences or connections." Commonly, intelligence can be regarded as "inborn all-round general intellectual capacity." But to define intelligence as an intellectual capacity is to commit the fallacy of defining an unknown term by an unknown term—"ignotium per ignotius." However, intellectual capacity is very difficult to define. Everyday usage tends, on the whole, to emphasise the practical character of intelligence. An intelligent person is one who solves successfully the various situations with which he is confronted in the course of his daily life. Psychologists point out that among the factors entering into this capacity are learning ability, imagination, memory capacity, problem solving ability, judgment and intuition.

As might be expected, the range of intelligence differs widely there being for example a difference equivalent to ten years of mental growth between the feeble-minded and the scholarship child. It has been shown that intelligence, as measured by our existing tests, varies within certain prescribed limits. But that does not exclude the possibility of intelligence covering a much wider range but this range cannot be indicated adequately by existing tests. Further, the exact relationship of intelligence as measured by our tests and the true intelligence has yet to be demonstrated.

The examination of the growth of intelligence has been difficult owing to the lack of a suitable unit

in which to express that growth. There has also been considerable vagueness concerning the origin and maximum development of this process. Binet's introduction of the concept of a mental age was a decided aid towards overcoming the first difficulty of expressing the rate of growth of intelligence. The mental age represents the score in an intelligence test expressed in years and months without reference being made to the chronological age. Considerable misconception regarding mental ages still persists. During the war, American psychologists applied the α -test to over 2,000,000 men and found that the average mental age of the soldiers was 13.8 years. This fact was seized upon with great glee by numerous critics and has been widely quoted or rather misquoted. Uncomplimentary remarks were passed about the lack of intelligence of the American population. But when it is remembered that it is only possible to measure by means of the tests used mental ages up to 16, then the figure 13.8 out of a possible 16 is seen in an entirely different light.

To avoid these misconceptions, Stern proposed the use of the intelligence quotient.

$$\text{I.Q.} = \frac{\text{Mental Age}}{\text{Chronological Age}} \times 100.$$

Whilst the mental age tells the level of a person's intelligence as measured by a test at some particular time, the I.Q. states how fast he has progressed compared with the average person whose mental age and chronological age are identical. Whenever I.Q.'s are used as a means of comparing intelligences it must be remembered that persons can have the same I.Q. and

be of different abilities. Thus a child may have a mental age of 14 years and an I.Q. of 120, whilst another child may have a mental age of 12 years and also an I.Q. of 120.

Studies of mental ages and I.Q.'s by various experimenters have shown that the rate of mental growth of boys and girls is by no means identical. They discovered that from the ages of 5 to 7, girls are slightly superior to boys, the difference being about half a mental year. Towards the end of 9 or 10, boys, if anything, are temporarily superior. At the ages of 12 or 13, girls are once more better than boys. After puberty boys catch up again, little difference being observable at later ages. This superiority of feminine growth is based on the fact that the growth of brain is relatively precocious compared with the boy. The physiologist has indicated that the brain weight of the girl at birth is quadrupled before 10, whilst in the case of the boy it is not quadrupled until 14. After this latter age little difference in the rate of growth is apparently ascertainable.

In addition to the concept of mental age there is another less widely known, namely, bodily or anatomical age. This is age stated in terms of skeletal and physiological development. Radiological studies are made of the hand and other parts of the body and extent of development as shown by skeletal growth indicated. Illnesses, malnutrition and infectious diseases disturb metabolism and interrupt skeletal growth, leaving in some cases permanent records on the bones of these periods of arrested development. A child may thus have a *chronological* age of 14 years, a *mental*

age of 13 years 10 months and a bodily or anatomical age of 13 years 8 months. Chronological age becomes for these two concepts a point of reference. An inter-relationship between mental age and anatomical age has been claimed. Criticising this supposed relationship, the skeletal and physiological growth is dependent principally on the working of the endocrine glands among which are the thymus, pineal body, pituitary, thyroid and others. Of these, the pituitary gland has probably most to do with skeletal growth after early childhood. X-Ray examination, therefore, of the bones of the hand would merely indicate the relative activity or otherwise of the pituitary and other endocrine processes. Until we know more about the detailed working of the endocrines it is almost impossible to attempt to approach the study of intelligence and mental growth in this way.

It has already been pointed out that most occupations require a certain level of intelligence and that if a person does not possess this level of intelligence, he is not likely to be successful in the occupation followed. Frequently, intelligent persons find themselves in posts which really could be done by persons with lower intelligence than their own. An interesting problem arises here namely the relation between the average daily achievement of a person and his maximum capacity. Thus doctors, teachers, accountants, and others, continually work at a much lower level than their maximum capacity as indicated by the highest examination they have passed. One would suggest very broadly that one difference between professions and the lower occupations is that, in the latter, individuals are usually working at their

maximum capacity whilst in the former individuals rarely do so. More is achieved, though at less personal effort, by the former.

Experimental attempts have been made to determine what level of intelligence is required in various occupations so that people can be definitely advised as to their likely chances of success or failure in their prospective posts. But the only reliable test is the test of experience. When individuals attempt tasks beyond their capacity failure soon follows. The desire not to disappoint others who expect something of you may carry a person so far but failure inevitably follows when people with inadequate ability find themselves in posts requiring a superior ability. We all find our true occupational level sooner or later. In most professions, many are called but few are chosen. As a result of the long continued operation of these selective influences, certain well-marked, though artificial, levels have become differentiated among the population on a basis of intelligence. It has been demonstrated that, other things being equal, the degree of general intelligence which a person displays tends to determine his occupation.*

Apart from general ability a person also possesses certain special abilities. Macrae points out that:—

“The relative importance of the general factor and the specific factor varies considerably from one ability to another; and Spearman has provided a method whereby the weight of the two factors may be calculated.”⁵¹

Spearman writes:—

“The one part has been called the ‘general factor.’ . . .
The second part has been called the ‘specific factor.’ . . .

* See Cattell, R. B., *The Fight for our National Intelligence*, p. 62.

It not only varies from individual to individual, but even for any one individual from each ability to another.'⁵²

Occasionally, quite dull persons have some particular ability developed to a striking degree. In most tasks they are inefficient but in particular tasks they reveal unusual merit. These special abilities often determine employment and the person may do excellently in his work but fail in no uncertain manner when confronted with work of a different character. Speaking generally, these special abilities should be exploited to the full when the choice of a suitable career is being determined.*

One of the essential steps in guidance procedures is to ascertain the individual's occupational preference.

By this we mean the choice of an individual for some occupation or calling with the implied assumption that he would like to follow it if at all possible. For choice implies some degree of freedom. This is usually exercised when the child is about to leave school at 14 plus in the case of the elementary school leaver, 15 plus for the central or technical school leaver and 16 plus for the secondary school pupils.

The basis of choice is desire. In everyday life desire is supreme as a motive force. Desires may be expressed or repressed. Repressed ideas act in proportion to the degree to which they are repressed and so represent a fund of internal stored-up energy. Since the individual is a member of the social group he has to obey certain conventions. His thoughts, feelings, expressions and wishes and outward behaviour become conventionalised in their expressions.

* See Earle, F. M., *Psychology and Careers*, p. 54.

They have to be to some extent as in the social group certain rules govern conduct and must be observed. The more conventionalised the behaviour becomes the more repression takes place. It is not unexpected, therefore, that the flights of fancy and imagination of individuals show themselves in various choices of employment and that they have their origin in this repression.

The *nature* of the choice of occupation always proves of interest to the guidance counsellor but the *mechanisms* underlying the choice are of greater interest.

The psycho-analysts have replaced the sensation as the unit of mental life by the wish which gets its driving force from the affective rather than the intellectual side of mental life. Accordingly, in so far as the individual follows his volition in the pursuit of his occupation then he tends to satisfy the instinctive needs of his energy system and he establishes an equilibrium which produces pleasure. This pleasure represents a harmonious balance of different functions and is a sign that a number of tendencies not previously patterned are being integrated in a new and satisfactory way. This state of pleasure tends to maintain the equilibrium which it produces.

When impulses are thwarted, affect appears. This psychological factor, affect, tends to enter into the ordinary situations of everyday life. Affect, mood and interests would appear to play as much part in occupational success or non-success as general intellectual abilities and certainly determine whether the person will work well with his colleagues or will show friction. The relationship of emotion to the basic temperament seems to be very much undecided.

Too often emotional responses are confused and made synonymous with temperamental responses. Emotional factors do enter into the study of temperament as do also temperamental factors in the study of emotion. But in the former case we take the existence of emotional responses for granted and concern ourselves more with the presence or absence of control over these responses, the speed with which they appear or the slowness with which they lag, the continuance of the motive produced, the oscillation of the responses and the kinds of liminal stimuli which bring them forth rather than study the feeling tones produced.

All these phenomena of mental life are of importance to the occupational counsellor because they are likely to help to determine the success or otherwise of the individual in his career.

The position can be illustrated in the following way. There appears to be little or no affect when either immediate responses can be made or when the position is clearly and sharply defined. When on the other hand obstruction of the response appears or the situation involved is vague or indefinite, then affect tends to appear. It would follow that little or no affect would appear when actions are made spontaneously or in routine procedures or when situations are clearly understood. The conditions producing obstruction are when action is directly blocked, possibly by conflicting impulses, or where the situation is not sufficiently discriminated.*

How is this related to choice of employment? The majority of people, even when it is possible for

* See Bartlett, F. C., *Remembering* (Cambridge University Press).

them to choose their employment, rarely achieve complete satisfaction in their careers because their choice is not usually the expression of one desire. Persistence of one choice after another career has been chosen is often met and is probably an individual characteristic. Certainly, it can act as a motive. Disappointment with the career chosen will then appear in proportion to the extent to which the original desires carry over. Personal satisfaction is only attained if the person devotes all his energies to the realisation of his ambition. When this occurs he achieves mental equilibrium. Spontaneity of choice can prove to be successful. In the other cases, there are two or more aspects of the personality which often desire diametrically opposed occupations. Success and failure in occupational endeavours now appear to result from the proportion of the total personality which is satisfied or not satisfied in the given calling. Very broadly, occupational non-success may be taken as indicative that the demands of the energy system of the person have *not* been satisfied.* Thus, Stekel says that all inventors analysed by him were neurotics who were attempting to solve their psychic conflicts by displacement. They were transporting these conflicts to the field of mechanical techniques.

From Adler's standpoint, the exact nature of the occupational choice would be allied with the ego instinctive activities and the individual would be primarily swayed by his general feeling of inferiority if this existed. According to Freud's school of thought, the sexual aims of the individual are profoundly significant and whilst they may not be obvious

* Economic factors are disregarded here.

and apparent, yet the activity chosen will certainly bear some relationship to the basic drives. The effeminate men will tend to choose effeminate occupations.

The psychopathological approach appears to presuppose that individual choice is not actuated primarily by internal motives. These of course may be conscious or unconscious but essentially the subjective character is stressed.

White adopts an interesting and unusual attitude towards choice of employment and happiness. He says:—

“The conclusion seems to be implicit that disequilibrium is essential to action and is what makes the machine go, and that the strength of the affective drive and perhaps the vocational success is in proportion to the degree of disequilibrium.”⁵³

This view is rather unorthodox and implies roughly that vocational non-success may be ultimately advantageous, since the person will make various responses which may lead him to greater success. It is probably true that reverses and non-success may act as a stimulus to one type of person whilst to another they act with devastating results. It would probably *not* be advisable, acting on this principle, to place everyone in unsuitable occupational paths in order to stimulate their efforts to escape from these paths to others. It must not be forgotten that not only is disequilibrium productive of action but also equilibrium.

Since the state of pleasure produced through equilibrium must be maintained, the person must be continually making new adaptive responses or patterning old responses in new ways. Pleasure and

satisfaction do not imply quiescence in activity but an harmonious balance of ever-interacting activities. The successful executive does not show one continuous type of behaviour but numerous types.

So far the nature of some of the motives underlying occupational choices have been discussed. Let us now turn to a classification of some of these choices on a motive basis.

Occupational choices may be classified in various ways. They can be divided according to the nature of their underlying mechanisms. On this basis the first group would be called the *compensatory group*. These usually represent choices based on repressions or complexes. Referring to the latter, Adler points out the importance of organic defect as a factor affecting mental growth. Organ inferiority resulting in a definite attitude to certain social contacts is a motive force of no small magnitude. People become keenly aware of their weaknesses and may make considerable efforts to overcome them. Demosthenes, the stutterer, became the greatest orator of his time. Choices of occupation may then represent desires to overcome weaknesses or deficiencies. As such they are compensatory.

The lame boy who is anxious to become a motor-driver is probably desirous of being in a position in which his usual handicap of covering distances slowly will be no longer evident. It is quite possible that many of the ordinary choices of occupation are compensatory in nature. Under this heading we could include any position which shows either power to control or opportunity for self-display.

The second group of choices it has been pointed

out elsewhere are those which represent either conscious or subconscious mechanisms. The first sub-group of these is connected with identification with parental desires and influences. The boy may be attached to his father who is anxious for the boy to follow his own occupation or to enter the same business. To this the boy and his mother readily at first agree. Having possibly gone to the same school as his parent, the boy next proceeds to the same university, the same college, possibly the same tutor, joins the same societies. In this way, the father is able to re-live his own youthful career and may derive considerable satisfaction thereby. There is not much need for the boy to work. After all he is going into his father's business.

In the second sub-group we have differentiation from parental desires and influences. The boy may choose a career slightly different or possibly superior to the father's. The son of a solicitor chooses to be a barrister. Or the boy may choose a career as far removed from his father's business as possible. The son of a tradesman chooses a profession. The Conservative's son becomes a Socialist or the clergyman's son goes on the stage. This differentiation of choice of career is supposed to result from ambivalence or the presence of both love and hate in the boy for the father. The desire to excel over his father may also prove a constant spur to effort. It is necessary to point out that the son may quite possibly be totally unaware of any such underlying motives and indeed may repudiate them if the situation is pointed out to him.

The next group of choices have been called the

outlet group. These represent means whereby certain drives and energies usually instinctive may be sublimated or expressed. Among these are occupations providing outlets for instinctive and emotional energies such as acting, butchery, surgery, wrestling, boxing and soldiering which offer direct channels of outlet for persons endowed with highly developed instinctive appetites. Cases are known of photographers who were more than usually curious, actors who were attracted to their calling by a love of self-display and so on. It is too frequently forgotten that different occupations engage the instinctive energies with varying degrees of attraction. The problem is to fit those persons with the necessary qualities into them. A person's interest may, therefore, lead him to enter a particular post. Subsequent analysis would show that he is contented principally because his instinctive energy system is satisfied. The pugnacious individual becomes soldier, policeman, fighter, the timid retiring person becomes a waiter or valet. Choice of occupation may represent outlets for instinctive tendencies, the actual position being possibly unknown to the person concerned.

The final group has been termed the rationalisation group. The boy recognises and is prepared to follow his own interests or abilities or the abilities his parents recognise in him. To the boy and the parent the situation is straightforward and a logical one. The parent will say, for example, "My boy is interested in engines and Meccano, so I am going to make him an engineer." Or, "My boy is interested in making wooden models so I am going to make him a carpenter." To the parent this is a logical position.

But this *post hoc ergo propter hoc* type of reasoning more usually proves equally fallacious and unsuccessful.

TEMPERAMENT

Besides intelligence, a considerable number of different factors normally combine to determine a person's occupational success. As we have already indicated, the general grade of occupation open to people is limited by the degree of intelligence possessed by them. Were this the only determinant, persons of equal intelligence would progress equally well in similar occupational circumstances. That they do not do so is an indication of other modifying qualities; amongst these are temperament and character.

Possession of certain well-marked temperamental traits will compensate at times for only a moderate level of intelligence. F. C. Bartlett has pointed out that not only is temperament more important than intelligence in determining social status but that of all innate factors has most to do with occupational status.

Regarding temperamental traits, he writes⁵⁴:—

- “(1) Of all mental factors, except instincts, they are more persistent from generation to generation.
- (2) They function as early as any mental functions can.
- (3) They find diverse expression.
- (4) They have most to do with occupational status.
- (5) They are neither adequately measured nor indicated by the present temperament tests.”

It may be added that relatively slight changes of temperament can separate an occupational failure from an occupational success.

It follows that whilst guidance work is often based on an estimation of general and special abilities

and mental abilities that are more specifically cognitive and form definitely motor capacities. Macrae points out that "the psychology of temperament and character is still in a somewhat backward state." He then proceeds to describe temperament:—

"The word 'temperament' (or disposition) is commonly used to denote what is inborn and character is acquired; but the acquired is built up on foundation of the innate; and it is difficult to discover how much is due to nature and how much to nurture."⁵⁶

Factors of temperament are determined in the innate constitution of each man. It seems proper therefore to include under factors of temperament certain general constitutional peculiarities of the nervous system such as degrees of liability to fatigue, ease and rapidity of recuperation from fatigue. Some show a restlessness of action, others are slow, methodical and plodding. One person has speed and extreme rapidity of response but no sustained dynamic drive. Another possesses the drive but not the speed of action. Persistence and application may be shown or the reverse. All these qualities have an occupational significance.

We now approach the problem of how to ascertain temperamental qualities for guidance work. Temperamental qualities are shown through the central nervous system and so the type of constitution and the kind of nervous system possessed should be noted. So, too, should the reactions of the person to his immediate surroundings. The way in which each reacts to the other members of the social group can prove very instructive. Many get along exceedingly

yet temperamental factors do enter into the problem to such an extent as to render guidance solely based on these abilities a dangerous proceeding.

It can be pointed out for example that certain employments require, apart from intelligence, the possession of specific temperamental traits and that where they are lacking success will be almost impossible. Temperament plays a large part in the individual career. It is necessary to add that it frequently plays an equally large part in the initial choice of the career. Basic temperament is related to interest and can modify and develop interests and in this way be responsible for a particular calling being chosen.

The position would seem to be that whereas intelligence indicates the lower and upper levels of the employments which could be followed, temperament decides to what extent success is achieved within those two levels.

Temperament is a mental quality which may be defined in many ways. Klages⁵⁵ defines it as follows—"Temperament obviously is a single disposition which may be graduated indefinitely." The implication is that temperament does not merely consist of an assorted number of traits but that it is one finely integrated and balanced mental factor whose components are so interwoven that no clean-cut demarcation can be noted. Temperament has also been defined as the sum of the effects upon the mental life of the metabolism or chemical changes that are constantly going on in all the tissues of the body. It has been described as the total organisation of an individual's innate tendencies of the affective and conative type as distinguished from innate sensory

well, some develop egocentricity or shyness or reveal a knack of overcoming all hindrances. These points can rarely be discovered by means of psychological tests, they are only demonstrable in the ordinary situations of life. Direct observation should here supplement test procedures.

Since a child lives in a restricted and somewhat protected atmosphere, his problems and conflicts are neither so numerous nor complex as the adult's. Many may be solved early in life; some may persist. But in designing tests of temperament, we must be careful since tests devised by an adult may be suitable to tests an adult's temperament but totally unsuited for testing a child's temperament.

Estimations of temperament and character have, it will be readily recognised, a prognostic value in guidance work. Much can be predicted from them alone. In some cases positive recommendations, in others, negative recommendations can be made. The most recent experimental work and clinical experience have demonstrated the advisability of debarring from certain types of work those of unsuitable temperaments.

From a purely experimental standpoint, the measurement of temperamental traits is most difficult. This is partly owing to:—

- (1) Lack of adequate knowledge of the nature of temperament, and;
- (2) Lack of suitable means of its indication and measurement.

Experimental work has not progressed far. It is thus not possible for example to give standard tests

for temperament. Return is made to the psychological experiment relying upon observation and deduction.

In the testing of temperament, performance tests are commonly used. These reveal temperamental traits. Conditions should be as normal as possible and test methods varied if necessary. Intuition is often needed by the experimenter. The general principle is to devise situations which will reveal marked instability or nervousness and so on and then to compare one individual's behaviour with another in the same situations. This information can supplement that obtained from a child's teacher. As the teacher has known the child for a long time an assessment of temperamental qualities can be made by rating. The value of this method is entirely dependent upon the judgment of the person rating. It is advisable therefore to attempt to secure as many independent ratings as possible.

There is no doubt that in the near future more refined methods of indicating and possibly measuring temperament will be evolved.

INTERESTS

It has already been pointed out that all professions require a fairly uniform standard of intellectual ability from entrants. Interest is a prominent factor in determining which profession may be followed and those psychological foci known as interests play an important part in the choice of a career and, it may be added, in the subsequent failure or success. An individual with only moderate intellectual powers but with keenly developed interests, can go far.

The possession of interest in a particular profession however is insufficient. In addition, there must be a background of abilities and above all the desire for success and a skilful direction of these abilities.

Interests are usually divided into subjective interests and objective interests. Subjective interests have been described as "complex experiences with an essential feeling component," as "individual experiences of pleasantness or unpleasantness with different degrees of intensity," as "generalisations of likes, dislikes, indifferences."

Objective interests are individual experiences which "involve the acceptance or rejection of certain standards or objects in the environment." To these objects one may show animation, motivation, enthusiasm and continued application or alternately, disregard.

Regarding interests, William James says:—

"The total mental efficiency of a man is the resultant of the working together of all his faculties. He is too complex a being for any one of them to have the casting vote, it is more likely to be the strength of his desire and passion, the strength of the interest he takes in what is proposed."⁵⁷

The precise rôle of occupational interests in success and the effects of the attitudes of an individual towards his occupational endeavours are still matters for discussion. Some assert that a careful measure of occupational preference yields in some instances the best prediction of occupational aptitudes and that, consequently, interests should form the basis of guidance.

A high degree of correspondence between interest

and abilities was shown by Thorndike in 1917, whilst Bridges and Dollinger in 1920, found the reverse. B. Muscio (1921) could not see how interests could be safely utilised in occupational guidance. Freyd (1924) showed it was possible to distinguish through interest analysis between two occupational groups. Valentine (1927) has indicated that particular occupational interests may be due to faulty information. Bartlett (1927) suggested that interests may be limited by certain temperamental factors. Terman (1929) showed that change in interests was not due at adolescence to competing interests but to a general increase of interests.

Several interesting points regarding interests are yet to be settled. We have yet to find adequate means of estimating both subjective and objective interests and also the inter-relationship of these in a particular person.

It has been shown by some investigators that specific interests and ability are often highly correlated. That interests fluctuate is widely known but one could suggest that occupational interests, in general, do not fluctuate as widely as one might presume. In fact, in the majority of cases stability is the rule but certain odd cases show marked instability and this influences our judgment of the rest. The fluctuations of these interests may be relative to a person's intelligence and his temperamental qualities. One could also suggest that the fluctuation may be greater in secondary than elementary school children. The secondary pupil has a rather higher level of intelligence, usually matriculates and then surveys the numerous careers open to him. In the case of the elementary child, interests are

often of low level and of the fixed type. We must remember also that a child's *stated* interests may not be his *true* ones.

We have yet to ascertain why some employments evoke general interest whilst others evoke little at all. Occupations could be graded according to the extent of the interest produced and the length of time the interest was sustained. The relation of interest to capacity too remains ambiguous.

Attempts have been made to indicate introversion—extroversion by means of interests. This has an occupational significance since it is possible to classify posts according to the extroversion required. Politics, the stage, executive posts, are all callings needing extrovertive qualities. Research workers, inventors, statisticians, accountants are often people having introvertive tendencies.

Fixation of interests normally takes place during the adolescent period. Fixation is a personal characteristic and may have a prognostic value as may also the existence of unfixed interests at a relatively late age. Too early and too fixed interests are displayed by low intelligences. Interests fluctuate, shift, develop, die away. A temporary interest can, of course, be responsible for the selection of a permanent employment. This explains why some people become bored in the occupation they have selected themselves. It is not so much the interest which is important from the standpoint of guidance but the nature of the underlying drive, but it is difficult to discover this.

Differences should be recognised between attitudes and interests. A statement of likes and dislikes of particular occupations is an indication of personal

attitudes towards these activities. A person has an interest in a specific thing and also formulates a particular attitude towards it. Both may change. They may be intimately related but little evidence is yet available to show if this is so.

Interests can so far only be *indicated* as they cannot be measured satisfactorily. The methods used in measuring or indicating interests are as yet in an experimental stage. They differ according to whether objective or subjective interests are being analysed.

The questionnaire which is used to investigate subjective interests provides a cross-section of individual interests. We should not in this way merely note what the interests are, but also how they affect the individual life. To ascertain the relationship of this cross-section of interests to the dynamic interests involves further analysis. This may be difficult to obtain for interests are functional activities which alter rapidly.

From an occupational standpoint alone the full range of individual interests become of vital significance when they help to determine the choice of career or occupation.

It can be added that it is extremely difficult to differentiate between temporary interests of little prognostic value and between those interests due to actual proficiency in some activity or another. Where the latter are clearly defined they are valuable as aids to occupational guidance. The former interests quickly alter, the latter develop with occupational experience.

In this chapter there has been presented a survey of the various psychological factors underlying the analysis of the individual talents. Throughout, the

complexity of the various factors has been emphasised and also the difficulty of their estimation. It must not be thought nevertheless that the present position does not enable a reliable estimation of personal qualities to be made. Psychological research has provided excellent means of assessing individual abilities and characteristics and it is possible to offer occupational guidance using the existing psychological procedures. These should be used cautiously as the value of guidance depends in the first place upon their accuracy and reliability.

The psychological problem of guidance is to provide information regarding the individual mental qualities. This can be achieved by present methods, although further research will be necessary in the future.

CHAPTER V.

LIMITING ECONOMIC FACTORS

THE psychological problem of occupational guidance is concerned principally with the quality of the population: the economic problem is concerned with quantity of the population, with the labour demand and its supply, its remuneration, the recruitment of labour and with other allied topics. A survey of these will be made from various angles and the nature of the demand for labour and of the available labour supply both considered.

At the outset, it is necessary to point out that vocational and occupational guidance would never prove to be the panacea for all our economic and industrial ills. They could quite conceivably alleviate some of these. But the economic troubles of this decade are far more deep-rooted than this. They cannot be solved by the mere application of such partial expedients.

It is so often pointed out that in our age the different technological advances have *not* improved the common welfare. Millions of our population are unemployed, millions of others have only insecure employment.

The position is clearly stated by J. Dewey:—

“The most marked trait of present life, economically speaking, is insecurity. It is tragic that millions of men desirous of working should be recurrently out of employment; aside from cyclical depressions, there is a standing army at all times who have no regular work.

We have not any adequate information as to the number of these persons. But the ignorance even as to numbers is slight compared with our inability to grasp the psychological and moral consequences of the precarious condition in which vast multitudes live. Insecurity cuts deeper and extends more widely than bare employment. Fear of loss of work, dread of the oncoming of old age, create anxiety and eat into self-respect in a way that impairs personal dignity. Where fears abound, courageous and robust individuality is undermined. The vast development of technological resources that might bring security in its train has actually brought a new mode of insecurity, as mechanism displaces labour. The mergers and consolidations that mark a corporate age are beginning to bring uncertainty into the economic lives of the higher salaried class, and that tendency is only just in its early stages. Realisation that honest and industrious pursuit of a calling or business will not guarantee any stable level of life lessens respect for work and stirs large numbers to take a chance of some adventitious way of getting the wealth that will make security possible.

"The unrest, impatience, irritation and hurry that are so marked in American life are inevitable accompaniments of a situation in which individuals do not find support and contentment in the fact that they are sustaining and sustained members of a social whole. They are evidence, psychologically, of abnormality and it is as idle to seek for their explanation within the deliberate intent of individuals as it is futile to think that they can be got rid of by hortatory moral appeal. Only an acute maladjustment between individuals and the social conditions under which they live can account for such widespread pathological phenomena."⁵⁸

Guidance cannot cure all this. It could, at the most, remedy certain evils. It could not of its own accord defeat depression but it could it is said facilitate the era of prosperity which sooner or later

follows since industry would be then more efficient after its application.

Another striking economic feature of our age is the fact that in most highly civilised communities there is a regrettable lack of adjustment between individuals and the age in which they live. Economic progress is so rapid that there is a very pronounced lag of social adjustment. This is unfortunate. We should anticipate economic progress not follow it. This lag complicates the operation of guidance procedures. We must not merely seek to fit the child into this present economic system but into the economic system as it will be in the near future. When giving advice regarding careers, we must remember that the economic system changes continually. Qualities which may be desirable in occupations of this present economic system may not be equally useful in the system when it has changed later. We must not only train, educate and vocationally guide children for the present industrial system but for the system which will exist when the children have fully matured. This is a very difficult proposition and one which increases the already numerous difficulties confronting the practical application of guidance work.

Broadly speaking, the value of any particular guidance proposals will depend upon the validity of the following three suppositions. Any system of vocational and occupational guidance makes three prominent assumptions: (1) that posts are available, (2) that posts are filled according to individual capacity, (3) that each person is anxious for and available for work.

Regarding the first assumption, the availability of

employment and also the relationship of the labour demand to the labour supply will be immediately recognised as factors which will affect the utility of guidance.

The mere offering of advice is a preliminary action. The psychologist provides information to be acted upon. A definite attempt to secure that type of employment indicated as being the most suitable normally follows. Unless employment of this type or even some other sort is available or likely to be available in the near future, the guidance has been from one viewpoint partly wasted effort. Yet it is of use if, at a remote date, it proves of assistance in the selection of employment. There arises, of course, the problem of the localisation of different industries which produces different labour demands in different districts.

Since in our modern world such a large proportion of the population is unemployed and another fraction unemployable and guidance is such a costly process, the advisability of applying these procedures universally can be raised, for many will not have the remotest chance of following the guidance. Should advice be restricted to those who are likely to be employed? From a humanitarian standpoint, none should be denied. From a practical standpoint, some will have to be denied. In support of the general application of guidance, it may be pointed out that in the first place it is only after such an examination that any definite statement regarding a person's employability can be made. Secondly, it is not possible to foresee what industrial developments may occur creating a demand for labour and possibly

absorbing many who were thought to be permanently unemployed.

We come now to the relationship of the labour demand to the labour supply. Let us assume an organised community with a demand for and a supply of labour. There are three possible relationships between these factors of supply and demand: (a) that the supply equals the demand, (b) that the supply is less than the demand, (c) that the supply is greater than the demand. The first case is a situation rarely attained. The second case, too, has been rare in the past since the general demand for labour has been less than the supply owing to labour-saving economic improvements. (It must be recognised that this is only true as a general statement. In particular localities, at particular times, the supply is often less than the demand.) Frequently, this position is only temporary. Assume it exists.* The number of posts available is now greater than the supply. A wide range of posts is open to the average person, the above average is specially sought for and even the poorest types, normally unemployed, are absorbed. This position favours the exercise of vocational and occupational guidance.

The alternate position is that the supply of labour is greater than the demand for labour. In this case, more persons offer themselves for employment than are required. Competition for posts occurs. The better types of individuals obtain posts with relative ease, the average with perhaps some difficulty and the poorer types probably not at all. Two features

* It is likely to exist more frequently in the future owing to the decreasing birth-rate.

emerge. Firstly, employers find that they, in their own interest, have to make some selection among the numbers desiring employment.

Secondly, individual choice is not generally possible. Guidance will in such circumstances tend to be displaced by selection, individuals more often not gaining the type of occupations for which they are suited, but any available.

The general economic conditions favouring the most useful application of guidance are those when trade is good, business steadily expanding and with a brisk demand for labour, preferably the demand exceeding the supply. Under these conditions, people can follow the guidance given to them since they can select their employment, the number of available posts being large. In times of depression, the general economic conditions do not favour the application of guidance. The personnel of the firms is reduced, posts are few and far between. Those who keep their posts are not necessarily the most capable but often those who possess some personal contact or influence with the management. The driving force of economic necessity then does not permit the advice which may be given to be followed at that time. This is especially so with the juveniles. The juvenile labour market is one of the earliest to be affected by a falling off in trade. Careers are interrupted before they are even established. All guidance can do under the circumstances is to indicate the type of suitable posts for which efforts should be made when the trade conditions improve.

Any consideration of the problem of occupational guidance should, therefore, take into account the

close relationship between the demand and supply of labour which will affect the likely success of the scheme. It seems to be evident that a scheme can only be generally and successfully introduced under the conditions when demand for labour is greater than the supply. The falling birth-rate will reduce the numbers of juveniles likely to be available for industry in future years. The raising of the school-leaving age will postpone their entry into industry for a year and it may be safely said that, if trade conditions continue to be good, in the near future the demand for juvenile labour will exceed the supply. The conditions will favour the introduction of these procedures.

The second assumption of occupational guidance was that posts were filled by reference to the individual capacity. This process necessarily will involve the provision of psychological information regarding a person's abilities. It emphasises the need of the individual. The labour contract, however, involves two parties. The individual seeks an appropriate employment commensurate with his abilities. The employer seeks a suitable employee possessing the various attributes he requires. For the efficiency of a firm depends upon the efficiency of the *weakest* employee. The employer's purpose is accomplished by means of vocational or occupational selection—the selection of the most suitable applicant for a specific post. It has been said that guidance procedures are more concerned with personal welfare than are selection procedures. The latter merely consider personal welfare in so far as it affects industrial efficiency.

Guidance is concerned with the individual as he is likely to be affected by his employment; selection is

concerned with the efficiency in the employment shown by the individual. When the supply of labour is large, the employer has a large number of individuals from whom to select. When the labour supply is low, the field of selection is curtailed. When the demand for labour is greater than the labour supply, the conditions favour the exercise of occupational guidance. When the supply exceeds the demand, conditions favour the application of occupational selection.

The advantages of introducing a scientifically-organised system of vocational selection of employees into their business concerns have not yet been sufficiently appreciated by business men. Industry is an organisation producing goods and services of wide range to satisfy the wants and demands of the social group. A prominent aim of modern industry is to achieve a steady flow of production and to organise men, machines and materials to this end. An incidental aim is to reduce operation and production costs. Mechanisation is introduced for this purpose. There is a continuous replacement, in up-to-date concerns, of one mechanical system by another operating at lower costs.

This process cannot go on indefinitely. The gain derived from this replacement will diminish steadily in individual factories until the increase in profits only equals the cost of replacing one operating unit by another. When this occurs, many producers will be faced with the fact that any further improvement can only be obtained by reorganising the employees tending those machines. When the liminal points are reached and probably not before, some will for the

first time have their attention focussed on the human factor in industry. They may realise then that mechanical efficiency really depends upon human efficiency, and that the reliability of an industrial or commercial unit is measured by the reliability of its employees. Further, they may at last realise that the true reliability of all the employees is a function of the reliability of the weakest employee—the weakest link in the chain. When all this is realised, vocational selection will receive its long waited recognition and probably not before.

The introduction of vocational selection and guidance would, it is claimed, reduce industrial fatigue, increase industrial output, produce situations in which the person is more interested in his work, reduce labour turnover and reduce industrial accidents. Most informed people are aware of the increased application of psychology to industry. Its remedial methods have been most efficacious. The industrial psychologist is steadily reducing industrial friction and also, it might be argued, steadily reducing by his own efforts the need for vocational and occupational guidance. Eventually, it might be thought that if he is ultimately successful there would be little need for guidance. This argument is deceptive. These various industrial difficulties would be reduced were proper systems of guidance and selection in operation, but psychological procedures in connection with the entrants to industry would still be needed because the entry of juvenile labour into industry is a continuous problem.

The nature and extent of the preparation of entrants into industry has always been a matter of

concern. To-day, the development of mass production methods has enormously decreased the period of preparation formerly thought desirable. Yet some kind of preparation is still necessary. Vocational training, the name given to what is in effect occupational training, is the means of bridging the gap between the schoolroom and the industrial or commercial concern.

This deals with the provision of adequate training for specific employments. The difficulties of vocational training are numerous. If we assume the efficacy of a guidance system which is put into operation at an early age before the child leaves school, it might be very beneficial and desirable for the individual to receive specialised training for his prospective post. This is no easy matter to decide and it is primarily an educational problem. There are many questions to be answered. What would be the extent of the general educational groundwork and the specific occupational training in each course? Should courses be non-specific and cultural, biassed for single occupations or for types of occupations, confined to the slower children or universal? At what age should specialisation commence?

The basic principles of vocational training are sound. But the greatest difficulty arises when any scheme is proposed.

If vocational training were introduced, vocational selection would at once become both easier and also more difficult.

Employees would be limited to those trained for the post. But as differences between individuals would in some cases be smaller owing to all having

had the same training, selection would be more difficult. In other cases, differences would be emphasised by training and possibly selection would be easier. Consideration of the problem of vocational training will be dealt with later.

The second assumption of vocational and occupational guidance now being considered is that posts are filled with reference to the individual capacity. Vocational guidance, vocational selection and vocational training are three related processes which have common aims—to obviate misfit, secure appropriate employments for all and to promote happiness in vocational conduct. Where, however, the individual capacity is *not* taken into account in securing employment, these aims cannot entirely be realised.

Many posts in industry and commerce are not secured by personal abilities but by personal influence. People are given posts because they are relatives of those in authority, because they are stockholders or possess some political creed or for some other reason. In a recent address to the Liberal Summer School, Professor John Hilton pointed this out very forcibly when speaking on economic opportunity under democracy.⁵⁹

He indicated that many held their present posts because of social factors and social contacts. In certain ranks of life there was a distinct bias to award positions not to those merely with innate ability but to those who had had some particular social training and personal contacts. They may or may not be efficient in their duties. Nevertheless, rapid promotion would come their way. These people may actually be very suited for some other post which they would

not dream of accepting. This state of affairs would be remedied were guidance applied unrestrictedly. Social friendships then would be of little avail. The only basis would be personal efficiency and capacity.

The full and unrestricted application of an organised system of vocational and occupational guidance administered irrespective of social barriers would represent an interesting sociological experiment. Each would then be rewarded according to his ability. Status would depend upon the individual talents. This would involve a considerable reshuffling of society. We should be governed by the most competent, irrespective of rank. We should not be demanding too much from some, too little from others, but from each according to his capacity. Whilst there is personal influence, there will always be misfit and the value of guidance procedures nullified in consequence.

The third assumption was that persons are anxious for work. In England during the Victorian and Edwardian eras, the will to work was particularly strong and was one of the foremost causes of the general prosperity of this country during this period. The will to work is initially prompted by the desire to exist—to satisfy one's basic needs. It soon appears as a desire to live at least on a scale equal to that of others in the social group. Later, it becomes a desire to live better than most of them. The will to work is, in the first place prompted by the individual struggle for existence or possibly through a desire for activity. Then it becomes modified when the individual becomes conscious of the social group and when he alters his conduct accordingly.

When is the will to work strongest? Is it strongest when trade is good and weakest in times of depression or the contrary? The will to work is stimulated when trade is good since the individual's services receive good monetary rewards as higher wages are paid when trade booms. The will to work is also stimulated when trade has decreased because times are difficult and the struggle for existence keener. It should follow that as trade and the general economic conditions become worse, the will to work would become keener and keener being motivated by sheer necessity. To some extent this is true. But the modern state has had to make certain provisions for the public welfare during long periods of unemployment. Legislation protecting the unemployed classes such as the English Unemployment Insurance Acts has become an absolute necessity to maintain the stability of the State and to conserve its existence in its present form. Under these circumstances, the will to work has decreased. Whilst this is from one viewpoint rather unfortunate yet it must be remembered that it is far better to have a stable society with a decreased will to work among many of its members than a society whose will to work is spurred by grim necessity and also spurred to commit irrational actions aimed to overthrow the stability and existence of the present social order.

It might be thought that under an adequate system of occupational guidance more people will work in suitable posts, will be happier and able to work more easily. With the removal of repressed occupational desires and with the new motives aroused by interests in the particular employments, the individuals

might, it could be advanced, be able to work longer without strain and so require far less leisure. This is not so. Even if a person's occupation is what he likes, in addition, he requires adequate leisure. The necessity of adequate leisure for all is sound economically and psychologically. ✓ Leisure is a basic necessity. Apart from this there would most likely be, through the improvements consequent upon guidance, an increased output and this would make it unnecessary for longer hours to be worked and result in greater leisure. The introduction of guidance would certainly change the character of the leisure interests. Many people pursue in their hobbies interests which are repressed in their daily work. If, however, as guidance seeks to secure, the person's major interests are harnessed to the daily work, most of them will find adequate expression in this way. Leisure interests would then certainly change, but how they would change nobody knows.

The remuneration of labour is of course far too immense a problem to be touched upon even lightly here. Two passing comments only will be made. In the first place, provided that they are adequately remunerated, many individuals will give up their leisure time and be prepared to work. This can occur when the work is or is not onerous. When individuals secure suitable occupations, this desire to work over and above the usually accepted periods may be more universal. Work will not be so onerous and so not be the general burden it is to-day. Appropriate guidance will rapidly improve the "will to work." The second point of interest regarding the remuneration of labour is that in many cases choice of employment

is entirely motivated by the remuneration of the employment chosen. The standard of reference of industrial remuneration tends among juveniles to be greatly influenced by their first post. Guidance seeks to establish contentedness. This, for many, could be temporarily secured merely by increasing the remuneration attached to the employment. For in some posts the employee is not paid adequately for the work he does. In posts of higher status, people are paid to supervise the work of others. Others are paid not for what they actually do but for what they could do were opportunities to arise demanding their attention. The personal motives not only differ from person to person but also from time to time. But in most the financial motive is strong. Very few ask themselves when choosing a career "What employment should I follow so that I can give my best services to society?" More frequently the remuneration, present or future, is their entire consideration. The ultimate economic problem, therefore, is to endeavour to arrange that each has an occupation, commensurate with his abilities, an employment in which he is adequately paid for his services and which offers reasonable prospects of advancement.

It has been pointed out that the most favourable economic condition for the introduction of guidance procedures is when trade is brisk and there is a keen demand for labour. It must be remembered that the well-being of the State really depends upon economic factors. The amount of money available to be spent on education and vocational training, both expensive undertakings, is limited by the wealth of the country, by its trade and financial stability.

It may then be safely said that not only do favourable economic conditions facilitate the working of guidance procedures but, further, that without these favourable conditions in existence the chance of guidance being adopted is extremely remote.

The economic factors which are likely to limit the operation of a guidance scheme have been described. The near future will see a *diminishing* juvenile population and an *increasing* demand for juvenile labour. It is possible that employers will be competing for the services of juveniles. These are the conditions under which guidance can be successfully introduced.

CHAPTER VI.

“VOCATIONAL” TRAINING

THE reason for “vocational” training has been put forward very clearly by Mr. A. P. M. Fleming:—

“As manufacturing is the basis of national prosperity every means should be taken to select and direct to the industrial vocations the most intelligent workers, and not, as at present, to allow those who are often the most inefficient to drift into industry. Means should be taken to determine as early as possible the natural bent of the child as regards its future occupation. Before vocational education commences, it may be sufficient to discriminate broadly between children who have an aptitude for commercial life and those who seem best fitted for industrial work. In the absence of suitable psychological or other means of discrimination, careful observations on the part of teachers may serve the purpose, and to this end teachers in primary schools should be brought much more closely into contact than at present with everyday working conditions and be able to impart to their students a clear conception of the character of the various local occupations.”⁶⁰

This is a good statement of the position put forward twenty years ago yet equally applicable to-day.

The view has often been advanced that lack of vocational training is one of the factors producing misfit and drift in employment.

The tiredness with school life and the desire to enter the world and be grown up is always for a time a strong stimulus to the young juvenile. Early difficulties are overcome by means of this drive but, later,

discontent grows as difficulties increase and drift follows. For the transition from school-room to factory, workshop or office is a difficult one. The change may be followed by maladjustment, by accidents even though the occupation entered is suitably chosen.

Some preliminary training is essential for certain types of factory work and preferable in many other cases as it not only proves to be a saving to the manufacturer concerned but also more satisfactory to the person involved.

The question of providing proper vocational and occupational training for those about to enter commerce and industry has long been a matter of dispute between educationalists and business men.

The trouble which has arisen over vocational and occupational training in the past has arisen not through disagreement with the principle of preliminary industrial training. It has been concerned with the period during the child's educational life when such training should begin, if at all. The general tendency has been to postpone the issue to as late a time as possible in the child's career, partly owing to the relative brevity of the elementary senior school life from 11 to 14 years of age. This allows an all too brief time for the establishment of a sound education on general lines for the average type of child.

Interest in the controversy regarding general versus specialised training has quickened through the proposed raising (now postponed) of the school-leaving age to 15. This means that the three-year stay of the child in the senior elementary school will be increased to four years. The problem of the extra

year is to be faced and an obvious suggestion is to utilise this additional period in school for some sort of occupational training. For it may be said that the expensive provision of public elementary school education to 15 will be wasted unless some instruction is given for the immediate requirements of the child's early commercial or industrial career.

There is little doubt that the near future will see an extension of "vocational" training which seems at present to be more acceptable to educationalists than in the past.

Apart from this, any system of guidance involves the provision of facilities for "vocational" training, as much of the effectiveness of the "vocational" advice given will be dependent upon suitable training facilities being available.

This problem of "vocational" training is, essentially, a *local* one.

It is stated in a Ministry of Labour Report that:—

"All schemes for vocational guidance must be governed by the nature and variety of local industries, and the local opportunities of employment, since the majority of boys and girls leaving school of necessity find employment within easy reach of home."⁶¹

It will be necessary if the principle of vocational training is accepted for each district to ascertain the needs of education in relation to its local industry; or alternately, the needs of its industry in relation to education. It must then determine what arrangements can best be made to enable wise choice of employment and early industrial training for those pursuits.

This matter is we have just said a local one, and

districts will differ from one another. There are of course certain general problems which arise in each case. The age at which occupational training should commence is, for example, one important issue which will have to be faced in each district.

Apart from such general questions, the type and extent of the vocational training required will be characteristic of each local education authority in the same way that local requirements determine the type of technical instruction which is provided at present.

Many of the difficulties which have arisen in the past over this question of preparation for commerce or industry have resulted from extremist views on each side.

Mr. J. Walker Clark, for example, put the case unequivocally. He said that business men contribute a large proportion of the cost of education and therefore have a right to expect that the education given shall be suitable for business purposes.⁶²

On the other hand, educationalists have emphasised the folly of regarding the school as the hand-maiden of commerce and industry. They have pointed out that it is the primary business of the school to give a broad general education, that no business or industry has the right to demand the adaptation of the educational system to its own peculiar circumstances. Otherwise:—

“Agriculture and fishing, coal-mining and the mercantile marine, the factory and the retail shop, the railway service and the merchant’s shop, will presumably all want different distributions of this educational time.”⁶³

The ridiculous nature of this was recognised by Mr. Fisher:—

"There were, he understood, 16,000 different ways of earning an honest livelihood in this country. It was obvious that no public system of education could provide the special technique which might be required for each one of these callings. What education could do was to provide a general intellectual groundwork, to give training to hand and eye, to fortify the impulse to self-improvement and to train for the rational system of leisure."⁶⁴

As an educational principle, "vocational" training has been accepted for many years not with "normal" children but with "above normal" or "below normal" children. Among the latter are blind or partially sighted, epileptics, deaf and dumb, physically defectives and mentally defectives. In each case, an education authority has to make special provision for their education and training and owing to their defects they have to attend their special schools until they are sixteen. If possible they are trained for a specific employment.

For gifted children who in one way or another are above normal, there are art schools and classes, technical schools and colleges, commercial schools and colleges. The aim of these institutions is, in addition to providing facilities for the continuation of education on a broad basis, to provide instruction of a specialised kind and to provide training for specific employments.

Then there are the secondary schools which have pursued a narrow aim for thirty years and which have endeavoured to provide a "general" education. To propose any specialisation of a vocational character in these schools was unthinkable. Yet the education with a classical bias normally provided was actually

vocational with the disadvantage that it prepared for all too few vocations.

The Spens Report advocates a change of policy:—

“The studies of schools providing secondary education should be brought into closer contact than at present with the practical affairs of life.”⁶⁵

“Preparation for a vocation is an important part of education, but any specialised training of a vocational character should come towards the end of school life.”^{65a}

“Studies may well be introduced to a limited extent which have a definite bearing on the next stage of their life.”⁶⁵

The proper aim of all schools is also given in the same Report:—

“Schools of every type fulfil their proper purpose in so far as they foster the free growth of individuality, helping every boy and girl to achieve the highest degree of individual development of which he or she is capable in and through the life of a society.”⁶⁶

This is the real aim of “vocational” training.

Unfortunately, in the past, much of the “vocational training” has been provided without due regard to the available openings in employment which, after all, is *the* governing factor. It is useless to train shorthand-typists beyond the need for shorthand-typists as this defeats the very object and aim of “vocational” training namely training for a definite “vocation.” As, when too many are trained and openings limited, the surplus must seek alternative employments.

Upon this point, E. E. Reynolds observes:—

“There is, of course, the inevitable danger that we shall in reaction swing over to the other extreme and forget that our pupils will have to earn their bread and butter. Not that in the past we have been particularly efficient at vocational training but that has largely been for two

reasons; we have felt either ashamed at admitting that there is a real case for vocational training, and consequently have played with the business instead of facing its needs; . . . economic conditions make it impossible for the majority of children who choose jobs; they have willy-nilly to take the first that is offered, and in these days be only too glad to get anything. Much so-called vocational training is a farce, since the vocation can never be entered. We have means at our disposal through our increased knowledge of psychology of ascertaining general trends of ability; but this new knowledge will never be of much value until society can provide the means of outlet in work and leisure for those abilities.”⁶⁷

All the available employments must be considered when a scheme for “vocational” training is proposed. An ideal educational system would provide an education to correspond with the economic structure of society and with the general character of the social group concerned.

There have been many advocates of providing an education related to the local economic conditions. One was Sir Hugh Bell:—

“Too early specialisation of teaching is a mistake. While the curriculum in each elementary school should be framed with reference to the neighbourhood in which the school is situated, the trend of the education should be general rather than particular. No great attempt should be made to introduce vocational teaching at a very early stage.”⁶⁸

Another advocate of adapting the curricula of schools to suit the local conditions was T. Vivian Rees:—

“The upper standards in these schools might be subdivided into industrial, commercial and general sub-standards respectively, the numbers in the sections being

proportionate to the employment figures of the district in which the children are likely to earn their living. About two-thirds of the school time in these sub-standards should be devoted to general subjects, and one-third to special subjects connected with industry and commerce. This system has been adopted with satisfactory results in America and elsewhere. . . . It is obvious that its application must be determined by local conditions and that specialisation should not be carried to excess.”⁶⁹

There are obvious dangers in providing too specialised training and it would seem advisable to provide “vocational” training but on a *broad* basis. It is recommended that courses should have a technical value in relation not to one particular occupation but to a group of occupations.

The suggestion of Sir Algernon F. Firth is a sound one:—

“The work of these children (over 12 in elementary schools) could thus have a more practical bias and the training would be given, without teaching a trade, in the elements common to many employments.

“Similarly, intermediate and secondary education should have a more definite aim in preparation for groups of vocations.”⁷⁰

There is another aspect of the problem of providing occupational training. The modern methods of mass production diminish the need for numerous individual talents and abilities. Specialisation merely calls upon a limited number of talents. The problem then is to discover a method of exercising those talents which are temporarily dormant so that they will be kept in use and not allowed to relapse into ineffectiveness which they will soon do if unexercised. That the full range of the individual abilities should be

maintained at an efficient level is especially necessary in view of the fact that the economic demands of to-day alter so quickly. The demand for different services also fluctuates rapidly and so the individual should endeavour to remain proficient at several tasks and not merely at one. From this standpoint, a *wide* training and not a specialised one would be best.

The age at which some bias could be given is a much disputed point. On this point and also upon the desirability of continuing part-time education during the early years of factory life, F. A. Carr and T. S. Ratcliffe say:—

“The experience of the firm has led them to advocate a system of compulsory part-time classes in all industries up to the age of 18 provided that hours of work were considerably reduced. A suitable arrangement might be about 15 hours of school and 40 or 42 hours of work. This would give much better results than the present system, especially if the school curriculum for the last year or two were given a slight bias with a view to the future occupation. In this connection Mr. Carr suggested that it might be possible to determine a child's bent in one of two or three directions at the age of 11 or 12, and thereafter to differentiate between those who show mathematical and literary and artistic tastes. Mr. Ratcliffe, on the other hand, desiderated a perfectly general education up to the age of 14.”⁷¹

To summarise the foregoing, the basis of any system of “vocational” training should be flexibility. If specialisation begins relatively early then part-time education or continued education should continue fairly late. Courses should be primarily *general* in character and the bias given should not be marked during the early stages of training.

Every facility should be afforded for transference

from training for one occupation to training for another or from occupational training to training for a vocation if ability merits this.

The age at which training should begin depends upon the intelligence of the child, the type of school attended, the home and family circumstances, and the appearance of abilities or potential abilities. Normally when a bias is given or a particular field of training is chosen, the selection of occupation will tend to be restricted to within that field. It becomes of importance therefore to undertake any specialised training very cautiously after reviewing all the local needs of an area. In general, training should be for types of occupations rather than for specific occupations. Lastly, only that specialised training which is absolutely necessary should be given.

CHAPTER VII.*

SUMMARY

1. The problem of vocational guidance is peculiar to the industrialised communities in the world. The other communities have no such problem. The industrial social groups have failed, owing to rapid economic advance characteristic of modern times, to adapt themselves to the bewildering rate of progress. The human factor in commerce and industry has become of real importance because, whilst mechanical ingenuity can determine machine speed, yet the rate of production is determined by the efficiency of those working the machines.

2. The aim of vocational guidance is to secure the fitting of each into that employment most appropriate to and commensurate with the individual talents. Perfect freedom in the choice of a career is considered impracticable and also undesirable. Fitness, not desire, should be the basis of guidance. The fitting of each according to capacity would produce, it is argued, a more contented and stable industrial system.

3. In a social group under an ideal educational system, attainments of individuals would be directly commensurate with their innate intelligencies. The individual also would possess an occupation appropriate to his intelligence. We know, in the modern world, attainment more frequently falls below intelligence and only in exceptionally few cases, notably in the higher professions, does the individual obtain a

* Part of this chapter has already appeared in the *Sociological Review*.

situation in a social group which his intelligence merits him. This is a waste and in any ideal social system would be altered. Where there are numerous abilities, outstanding ones should clearly be exploited to the fullest extent and attainment if personal happiness is to be achieved.

4. Vocational guidance has been proposed as a suitable mechanism to secure this end. The validity of these vocational guidance procedures has so far been demonstrated with small samples of the population. It has been shown that, on the whole, groups which have followed guidance appear to be happier and much more settled in their posts than groups which have not followed guidance.

5. A distinction could, it is suggested, usefully be drawn between vocational guidance and occupational guidance. The former term should be restricted to guidance for specific vocations and not used indiscriminately, as at present, to cover all and every type of guidance.

6. Vocational and occupational guidance are attractive proposals. They should not at any time be regarded in any way as isolated problems. They must be considered in relation to their economic and social background. They are intermingled with educational and social problems.

7. For example, the vocational counsellor must continuously bear in mind the compelling power of social traditions, the inflexibility of many professions and the rigidity of professional behaviour when advising people regarding their vocational choice. Much misfit is social misfit and so vocational guidance must not only fit the person into a suitable post

but must also fit the person into a suitable social group. It should endeavour to secure for each that employment most suited to the individual talents in that particular social environment in which those talents can be used to the best advantage. Vocational adjustment, if it is to be perfect, must be carefully integrated social adjustment. The actual process of guidance is a psychological one. But it has most decidedly a sociological setting. It must be put into operation within a social group: it will have many social consequences. It is not merely an exercise in individual psychology but of social psychology, and this should be more generally appreciated.

8. As far as the economic side is concerned, it will be readily recognised that individuals can only be guided into posts provided that those posts are actually available. It follows that guidance is easiest when trade is good and expanding and when the demand for labour is greater than the supply. At all other times, vocational guidance will be subject to many restricting factors. It will tend, when the labour supply is greater than the demand, to be displaced by vocational selection. In the near future, owing to the falling numbers of juveniles available for employment and also owing to the expansion of commerce and industry, the demand for juvenile labour is likely to be far higher than the supply. Especially as the raising of the school-leaving age will further diminish the number of juveniles available for the labour market. The economic conditions of the near future will favour the introduction of vocational guidance.

9. Vocational guidance is affected by economic circumstances which actually limit the extent to which

guidance can be followed. The ascertainment of economic conditions should be a preliminary step in guidance procedures. Apart from the fact that an individual is assumed to possess sufficient knowledge of economic conditions to make a good choice of occupation, he is also regarded as being able to state concisely what he actually does want. The very fact of choice occurring at such extraordinarily early ages effectively precludes any acquaintance, other than cursory, with economic circumstances. In addition to this, individuals differ remarkably in their capacity for expressing their desires, even if these were straightforward—which they usually are not. A conflict normally results from competition between two or more desires. Indecision as to which career to pursue appears. A person may, under such circumstances, state what he believes he desires whereas this may not be at all representative of what he really does want.

10. Granting that the choice could be made and stated, then there remain remarkable differences in opportunity of following choices. This is rather an economic and sociological rather than a psychological question and touches upon the rigidity of social barriers, the laws of inheritance and social prestige. Individuals do not possess comparable facilities for following their choices even when these are the result of carefully arranged vocational guidance procedures. Unless some attempt is authoritatively made to remedy this state of affairs, it would seem that much of the vocational guidance work will be wasted effort. It can only be of fullest value when followed by deliberate attempts to secure suitable employments for the

persons concerned. Guidance itself is an incomplete mechanism. It is a preliminary measure which must be linked up with others.

11. Guidance is based upon a psychological and physiological examination of the individual. His particular strengths, weaknesses, "general" abilities, "special" abilities, his will, his temperament and character are all subjected to analysis. Whilst the career is likely to be influenced by change in any of those qualities as the person becomes older, it is more likely to be influenced by change of the motive forces of self-assertion and ambition. These alter from time to time and their alteration is quickly reflected in the individual career. Vocational success is, therefore, the resultant of several variables, many of them being chance variables. About any career there is a certain element of luck. Intelligence tends to determine the range of occupations which can be followed. Interest plays a large part in deciding which is actually selected, whilst character, temperament and personality decide the rate of and the extent of progress which is ultimately made.

12. Considerable work has been undertaken in recent years regarding psychological tests. Tests of "g," tests of "vocational" aptitude, standardised scholastic tests, tests of temperament, character and personality have been prepared. All of these are utilised in vocational guidance procedures and it may be said that sufficient work has already been done to enable them to be regarded as reliable test instruments. It is realised, of course, that in the future, further research work will have to be undertaken in order to overcome weaknesses which do exist.

opportune for the introduction of guidance work on a larger scale.

16. This conclusion is reached after a careful survey of all the existing difficulties, and it must be stressed that these are considerable and cannot be minimised. In fact, it seems exceedingly doubtful whether guidance in unrestricted form will ever be introduced. What can be done though and at a relatively early date is to introduce a modified system of guidance, and this would prove most helpful as an aid in solving the problems of juvenile employment which exist at the moment in England. The *unrestricted* application of vocational guidance is an ideal which may never be realised. A modified system can soon be put into operation.

17. It must be remembered, though, that vocational guidance is the kind of problem which cannot be carried through in spite of public opinion. It requires full co-operation. This is because it will affect so many of the public and will touch upon things of such vital importance to them. The significance of the part which can be played by enlisted public opinion is fairly obvious. Steps have already been made in this direction. The various vocational guidance experiments at least have helped to convince the public of their practicability and so secured some public interest. The next step is to organise such interest and to secure active assistance. These tasks are by no means straightforward. Some juveniles will be required to sacrifice a present for a future gain: others to exchange tangible benefit for an intangible one. In some cases, economic necessity will tend to limit the effectiveness of the guidance.

15. The economic circumstances of the near future will be favourable to the introduction of vocational guidance whose worth has already been established in the experiments which have been undertaken. The psychological procedures are available and the time, it can reasonably be claimed, is

relative failures and successes will still occur. all-round level of efficiency, but within this level, level of failure and success. It may lead to a higher level of failure and success. Guidance may alter the For these terms are relative. Guidance will both exist without guidance, success and failure will both exist. equilibrium exists about these matters. With or a world in which the majority succeed. A certain others will fail. Indeed, it is very difficult to imagine exist. Even with guidance, some will prosper, and commercial pursuits. Competition will always competition between individuals in their industrial example, vocational guidance cannot entirely eliminate the mere introduction of vocational guidance can never automatically secure success for all. For the benefits of vocational guidance to remember that 14. It is always advisable when advocating

than for specific occupations. in school should be for types of occupations rather is of paramount importance and the training received laid. Flexibility of the system of vocational training foundations of a sound general education have been taken. Specialisation should only take place after the all before any special "vocational" training is undertaken. Expert psychological advice should be available for training, as these two procedures are closely connected. 13. Any system of "vocational" guidance pre-

In other cases a lack of intelligence will preclude co-operation. It is extremely unlikely that a vocational guidance scheme could be proposed which will not receive some strict opposition. If any closely-reasoned proposal is advanced it will normally meet with severe criticism from some quarters.

18. Foremost in value are the opinions of those who advance sound and logical reasons against the proposal. Secondly are those who oppose but cannot state why they do so; these are prejudiced. Thirdly are those who oppose for the sake of opposing, objecting not to the character of the proposal but its source or some other minor point. It follows that the introduction of a specific vocational guidance scheme will encounter severe opposition from these quarters. If the scheme is really valid, subsequent history will provide the explanation for the use of force with which it may have been introduced. It behoves, therefore, that before any such scheme reaches the stage of practical endeavour, every effort should have been expended to secure the most valid and reliable procedures attainable. No pains must be spared to possess the highest possible efficient instrument for the purpose in hand. The dangers and consequences of failure are too grave a risk.

19. A foremost problem to be settled in any guidance scheme is the most suitable agent with whom to entrust the work of vocational guidance. The present position is that there exists a multiplicity of official, semi-official and private bodies all undertaking guidance work. Competition occurs between these and the existing lack of unanimity as to aims, methods and technique is a matter for reflection.

There exists a crying need for centralisation and co-ordination, together with the elimination of overlap. The State appears to be the most suitable agent to supervise this process and to control all employment machinery. For this step authority may be required and the State is the most appropriate body to wield this. It is not argued that the State should continue to exercise a virtual monopoly. Later on it could decentralise and delegate its authority when necessary. But before this can be at all considered, the existing position must be altered.

20. Vocational guidance has gone far. It still has far to go.

APPENDIX

*Murray's New English Dictionary** defines Vocation as "one's ordinary occupation, business or profession," as a "call to a public position," whilst collectively vocation means "those who follow a particular business or profession."

In the same dictionary,* a profession also is described as:—

"The occupation which one professes to be skilled in and to follow. A vocation in which a professed knowledge of some department of learning or science is used in its application to the affairs of others or in the practice of an art founded upon it. Applied especially to the three learned professions of divinity, law and medicine, also the military profession."

It will be recalled that Hobbes in his *Leviathan*, wrote:—

"Some names are addressed . . . to particular provinces, some to particular vocations and some to particular men."

In a wider sense, a profession is:—

"Any calling or occupation by which a person habitually earns his living . . . usually applied to an occupation considered to be socially superior to a trade or handicraft."

Maurice in 1839† wrote:—

"Profession in our country . . . is expressly that kind of business which deals primarily with men as men, and is thus distinguished from a Trade, which provides for the external wants or occasions of men."

The increase in the use of the term professions was remarked upon by Besant‡ in 1888:—

"New professions have come into existence and the old professions are more esteemed. It was formerly a poor and beggarly thing to belong to any other than the three learned professions."

* *Murray's New English Dictionary*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press.)

† Maurice, *Lect. Educ. Mid. Classes*, 1839, p. 186.

‡ Besant, *Fifty Years Ago*, 1888, p. 262.

One of the foremost authorities on professions to-day is Carr-Saunders.* In his recent book on this topic, after pointing out that Addison had in 1711 referred to the "three great professions of divinity, law and physics" and that the nineteenth century saw the rise of many more professions including dentists, veterinary surgeons, engineers and architects, Carr-Saunders goes on to describe what a profession is:—

"A little reflection shows that what we now call a profession emerges when a number of persons are found to be practising a definite technique founded upon a specialised training. A profession may perhaps be defined as an occupation based upon specialised intellectual study and training, the purpose of which is to supply skilled services or advice to others for a definite fee or salary.

"It is sometimes held that the typical professions, or even that the only true professions, are those in which the practitioners are free-lance workers, and therefore remunerated by fee."

Then it must be remembered that Ruskin had very many years ago explained†:—

"Five great intellectual professions, relating to daily necessities of life, have hitherto existed—three exist necessarily, in every civilised nation:—

The Soldier's profession is to *defend* it.

The Pastor's to *teach* it.

The Physician's to *keep it in health*.

The Lawyer's to *enforce justice* in it.

The Merchant's to *provide* for it.

And the duty of all these men is, on due occasion, to *die* for it."

Several writers including Sir William Beveridge‡ have indicated how universities have provided vocational preparation throughout the centuries:—

"For universities very largely began as Training Centres for particular vocations and have continued to be ever since."

* Carr-Saunders, A. M., *Professions, their Organisation and Place in Society*. Herbert Spencer Lecture. Oxford, 18th May, 1928.

† Ruskin, John, *Unto this Last*, 1888, p. 31.

‡ Beveridge, Sir William. Address to National Conference on Commercial Education, 14th June, 1936.

Another interesting definition of a profession was given by Professor Percy C. Buck* :—

“If you get a collection of men all following the same pursuit you create a profession, but there are certain sorts of pursuits to which people will not allow the name.

“If a doctor said he was a member of a profession people would understand him, but if a crossing sweeper said the same they would smile.

“Before the public will admit that a number of men form a profession they must believe that men adopt it not for the sake of getting a living out of it only but of giving their lives to it.”

One discovers another definition of vocation in the *Handbook of Probation*† :—

“By ‘vocation’ is meant a strong attraction felt by an individual towards some work or interest or art, coupled with the conviction that it offers the channel needed as an outlet for his own powers and energies, and gives opportunity therefore for the healthy self-expression which is necessary for full happiness. In probation the vocation felt is towards human beings, with a realisation of the need that exists for special social service, and a belief in the value of this particular way of helping. The impulse is often a very strong one, and fruitful of gain both to the giver and the receiver, so long as it is properly directed and never allowed to degenerate into emotionalism or sentimentality.”

In advancing the claim for the recognition of commerce as a profession Sir Francis Goodenough quotes other professions as examples‡ :—

“But if I may say just one word, namely on the point of the worthiness of commerce as a profession, it is this: let no one who is inclined to scoff at trade and traders forget that not an artist, not a musician, not a member of any of the learned professions or of the public services, not an administrator, or diplomatist, or statesman; not an archdeacon nor an archbishop—not the crown itself—can obtain the means of existence except through the wealth created by Industry and given its value by trade.”

* Buck, Professor Percy C., Address to Oxford Conference of the Incorporated Society of Musicians.

† *The Handbook of Probation*, 1935, pp. 61-62.

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